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(1205-1262)

*Κοινωνική και μορφωτική αλληλεπίδραση
μεταξύ Φράγκων και ντόπιου πληθυσμού*



ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΕΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΣΤ. Δ. ΒΑΣΙΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

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Aneta Ilieva

Frankish Morea

(1205-1262)

*Socio-cultural Interaction Between
the Franks and the Local Population*



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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- p. 7: CHAPTER I...19 read CHAPTER I...59
 3.1 The Appropriation...204 read 3.1 The Appropriation ...196
 List of Plates...275 read List of Plates...8
 p. 11, l. 2: add The index has been compiled by Manolis Varvounis.
 l. 10: insert 85-99
 p. 18, l. 10: 197 read 1976
 p. 20, n. 3: BCH read BCW
 p. 49, n. 56: 175 read 1975
 p. 55: Negrepointq read Negropont;
 p. 63: acturally read actually
 p. 66, l. 1: of read on
 n. 20: 1966 read 1866
 p. 67: Makrylagi read Makryplagi
 p. 68, n. 25: insert 43
 p. 70: p. 62 read p. 43
 sailed read sailed
 present, read presents
 p. 73, n. 41: insert 49
 p. 80, l. 1: on read in
 episcoporum read episcopatum
 p. 82: Peloponnes, read Peloponnese
 p. 89: pronoias read pronoias
 n. 79: insert 49
 p. 90: through read though
 n. 80: BCH read BCW
 p. 94: classified read clarified
 p. 102, n. 111: insert 49
 p. 107, n. 1: insert 85
 p. 108, n. 2: insert 78
 p. 110: Should we treat read Should we trust
 Africa read Attica
 n. 8: BCH read BCW
 n. 9: Akominatow read Akominatos
 p. 111, n. 10: BCH read BCW
 p. 113, n. 15: BCH read BCW
 p. 114, n. 20: insert 103 and 78
 p. 116, n. 25: insert 91
 p. 121, n. 39: BCH read BCW
 p. 149: 1228/30 read 1225/7
 p. 155: title: Franks and the Local read Franks and Local
 n. 1: insert 30
 n. 3: insert 54
 p. 156 n. 7: insert 28
 p. 158 n. 12: insert 23
 n. 14: insert 21
 p. 159, n. 15: insert 49
 p. 161, n. 26: insert 50
 p. 162, n. 31: insert 30
 n. 32: insert 49
- p. 163, n. 33: insert 23
 p. 166: insert 128
 p. 170, n. 47: insert 109
 p. 175, n. 59: insert 98
 p. 186: he breathe he about read he breathe about
 p. 196, n. 104: insert 109
 p. 198, n. 106: insert 97
 p. 204: 3.1. Appropriation of Land read *Appropriation of Land*
 p. 228: esttes read estates
 p. 229, n. 219: insert 69
 p. 234: location Beauregard read location: Beauregard
 p. 259: du XII au V s. read du XII au XV s.
 p. 261 Orers read Orders
 Koliass, G. Ιστορική γεωγραφία στην read Konde, V. Συμβολή στην
 p. 262: Schrifsteller read Schriftstellern
 p. 263: Slaves read Slavs
 p. 264: librée read liberté
 p. 266: étute read étude
 p. 267: Radié read Radié
 Études read Études
 p. 268: Γλαρόντα read Γλαρέντζα
 99/7 read 996/7
 p. 270: Vulgarbieratur read Vulgarliteratur
 p. 271: Love read Lore
 p. 273: List of Plates read Plates
 p. 277: Redoupt read Redoubt
 p. 300: Balkan 31, 43, 59, 151, 231 read Balkans 31, 59, 151, 231
 p. 301: Champenois family read Champenois Crusader read Crusader States
 p. 302: cross out Englishman, Genoese
 p. 303: Jacob read Jacob Pincens
 p. 304: Lagny of Champagne read Lagny, Champenois family
 p. 305: Makrylagi read Makryplagi
 cross out Mary Virgin, Megaskyr, Messenian
 Mons de family read Mons de, family
 p. 307: Provence 41, 225 read Provence 41, 143, 225
 cross out Provence of Germany
 Raoul read Raoul, family
 Roche de la family read Roche de la, family
 Saphadin
 p. 308 St. Saviour read St. Saviour of Saphadin
 Stibes read Stilbes
 Valenciennes read Valenciennes, Henry of
 cross out Vatatzes John III
 p. 309: Wolff R.I.L. read Wolff, R. Lee

Aneta Ilieva: FRANKISH MOREA (1205-1262)
*Socio-cultural Interaction Between the Franks
 and the Local Population*

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PREFACE

This book is the result of both scholarly research and seminar activity in the Department of History, University of Sofia. It has two 'starting points': on the one hand, the interest in the so called 'westernization' of Byzantium during the twelfth century; on the other, the ambition to approach the explanation of the Palaiologan renaissance in the Morea by placing it not only in time but also in space. Mistra rose in constant fight with the neighbouring Principality of Achaia established in the peninsula by the knights of the Fourth Crusade after 1204. Regardless of the turns in its historical fate as well as of all the efforts of Byzantium, the Principality survived until 1430 - 1432. What kept up the Morea of the Franks for more than two centuries?

The generations of historians after Charles Du Cange which for some reason or other have studied the Principality have always faced this question. Towards the end of the sixties the potentialities of political, social and economic history to propose a complete and adequate answer to it were already exhausted. The works of David Jacoby, the 15th Byzantine Congress (1976) and the revival of studies in this field in Greece suggest two major conclusions. First, it is necessary to abandon the fragmentation of historical process in the Latin states established after 1204 on former Byzantine territories; second, it is necessary to apply here, too, the achievements in the pursuit of 'un autre Moyen âge' (Jaques Le Goff).

These conclusions made me take my stand on the most controversial questions in contemporary social sciences: the definition of the

categories 'society - culture' (by abstraction and in reality), the interaction 'man - nature - society', the correspondence of the categories 'culture' and 'civilization'. I also had to use the possibilities of the anthropological approach to medieval culture and the related to it methods of social psychology and linguistics. I have tried to involve all kinds of sources — from geographical ones to Peloponnesian folklore. The concrete character of the study and the essential changes on both sides of the 'encounter' demanded, however, the abandonment of the principle of 'la longue durée' at the expense of the precise chronological cut — the beginning of the Byzantine 'reconquest' in the Peloponnese.

Thus, in the course of the work I arrived at the formulation of the title which, after a certain correction during the discussion upon it in the Chair of Byzantine and Balkan history (11 May 1989), became the title of my Ph. D. dissertation. The dissertation was defended on 26 October 1989 at a session of the Council for ancient and medieval history, archaeology and ethnography in Sofia. The present book is its reworked version enriched with some new material.

I would like gratefully to acknowledge my indebtedness first to my teacher in Byzantine studies, Associate Professor George Bakalov from the same Chair, and, second, to all who contributed to the improvement of my dissertation, especially to the reviewers, Professor Ivan Božilov and Professor Vasilika Tapkova - Zaimova.

Professor George L. Huxley and Professor Donald M. Nicol as directors of the Gennadius Library at Athens encouraged me in my study. Dr. Alexis G. Savvides of the Centre for Byzantine Studies at the National Research Foundation in Athens showed me the possible way for the publishing of my dissertation in Greece. He supported this deed to the end and checked most of the typescript, the second and the third proof. Likewise I wish to thank Professor Peter Topping of Dumbarton Oaks for his assistance regarding the content and form of the work. Professor Evangelos Chrysos from the University of Ioannina was so kind as to approve the publication of my dissertation in the series of which he is in charge. To Professor Dimitrios Gonis of the Department of Theology in the

University of Athens I am indebted for the Greek summary of the book.

Several friends in Athens, Trikala and Sofia gave me their steady support and inestimable help during my five sojourns in Greece and for the technical preparation of the book. I express my special gratitude to Mrs. Maria Lagiou, Mrs. Evangelia Gratsia from the National Research Foundation, Mrs. Ekatherine Vouloaga - Papanastasiou, Mr. Panayotis Spanidis and Dr. Emil Iliev.

The translation has been made as follows: I have translated the Introduction, part of Chapter I (pp. -) and Chapter II.1; Mrs. Nevena Boneva - the rest of Chapter I and Chapter III. 3; Dr. Nina Markova - Chapter III. 1 - 2; Mr. Bojan Genov Chapter 11. 2 - 3 and the Conclusion.

Sofia-Athens and Washington,
June-November 1990

Aneta Ilieva

ABBREVIATIONS

ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AESC	<i>Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
Akominatos, 1 - 2	Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα. Ed. by S.P. Lambros, 2 vols. Athens, 1879 - 80.
Angold, 'Archons'	M. Angold. 'Archons and Dynasts: Local Aristocracies and the Cities of the Later Byzantine Empire. In <i>Byzantine Aristocracy</i> : 236 - 53.
—, <i>Empire</i>	M. Angold. <i>The Byzantine Empire, 1025 - 1204. A Political History</i> . London - New York, 1984.
—, <i>Government</i>	M. Angold. <i>A Byzantine Government in Exile (Government and Society Under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204 - 1261)</i> . Oxford, 1975.
—, 'Greeks'	M. Angold. 'Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile'. <i>MHR</i> 4/1 (1989): 63 - 86.
—, 'Shaping'	M. Angold. 'The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine "City"'. <i>BF</i> X (1985): 1 - 37
Assises	<i>Les Assises de Roumanie</i> . Ed. by G. Recoura. Paris, 1930.
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BB	<i>Byzantinobulgarica</i>
BBA	Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHR	<i>Bulgarian Historical Review</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch - Neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
Bon, Morée	A. Bon. <i>La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d' Achaïe (1205 - 1430)</i> . Vol. 1, Texte. Paris, 1969.

- , *Péloponnèse* A. Bon. *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*. Paris, 1951.
- Brand, BCW Ch. M. Brand. *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204*. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard, 1968.
- BS *Byzantinoslavica*
- Buchon, J. - A. - C. Buchon. *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la domination française aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles dans les provinces démembrées de l'Empire grec à la suite de la Quatrième Croisade*. Part 1. Paris, 1840.
- Byzantine Aristocracy *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*. Ed. by M. Angold (BAR International Series, 221). Oxford, 1984.
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- Carile, Storia A. Carile. *Per una storia dell'Impero Latino di Costantinopoli (1204 - 1261)*. 2nd ed. Bologna, 1978.
- CFHB *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
- Cheetham, Greece N. Cheetham. *Mediaeval Greece*. New Haven and London, 1984.
- Chomatianos Δημητρίου τοῦ Χωματιανοῦ τὰ πονήματα, KB'. In *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio solesmensi parata*. Ed. by J. B. Card. Pitra. Vol. 7. Paris and Rome, 1891: cols. 87 - 98.
- Choniates Niketas Choniates. *Historia*. Ed. by J. - L. van Dieten. CFHB, XI/1. Berlin and New York, 1975.
- Chronikon Τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως. Ed. by P. P. Kalonaros. Athens, 1940 (repr. 1989).
- CIEB Congrès International d'Études Byzantines
- Cronaca *Versione italiana inedita della cronaca di Morea*. In *Chroniques gréco-romanes*. Ed. by Ch. Hopf. Berlin, 1873, no. XXIV: 414 - 468.
- DChAE Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- DOS *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
- EB *Études balkaniques*
- EEBS Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
- EO Échos d'Orient
- FAO, I, II, *Economic Survey of the Western Peloponnesus*.

- III/2 Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Vol. 1, *General Report*; 2, *The Setting: Physical Resources, Agrarian Structure, Human Resources*; 3, part 2, *Agriculture*. Rome, 1965 - 1966.
- FE *Francuzskij Ežegodnik (French annual. Articles and materials on the history of France)*. Moscow.
- Fedalto, Chiesa G. Fedalto. *La Chiesa Latina in Oriente*. Vol. 1 (2nd ed.). Verona, 1981. Vol. 2, *Hierarchia Latina Orientalis*. Verona, 1976.
- Ferluga, J. Ferluga. 'L'aristocratie byzantine en Morée au temps de la conquête latine.' *BF IV* (1972): 76 - 87.
- 'Aristocratie' J. Ferluga. 'Vizantijsko plemstvo i krstaši početkom XIII veka'. *ZRVI XVIII* (1978): 111 - 29.
- , 'Plemstvo' *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- GRBS J. Hoffmann. *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071 - 1210). Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich*. Munich, 1974.
- Hoffmann, Rudimente
- Innocent III, Reg. Innocent III. *Regesta*, VI - XVI. In *PL*, vols. 215, 216.
- Jacoby, D. Jacoby. 'Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque'. *TM 2* (1967): 421 - 81.
- 'Archontes' D. Jacoby. 'From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change'. *MHR 4/1* (1989): 1 - 44.
- , 'Byzantium' D. Jacoby. 'Quelques considérations sur les versions de la "Chronique de Morée".' In idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Roumanie Latine*. VRL, 1975, no. VII: 133 - 89.
- , 'Considérations' D. Jacoby. 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade.' *AHR 78/4* (1973): 873 - 906.
- , 'Encounter' D. Jacoby. 'Les États latins en Roumanie: phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204 - 1350 environ)'. XVe CIEB, I/3 (Athens, 1976): 1 - 51.
- , 'États' D. Jacoby. *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale. Les 'Assises de Roumanie'*. Sources, application et diffusion. Paris, 1971.
- , 'Féodalité'

JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JS	<i>Journal des savants</i>
Kalligas, Monemvasia	H. Kalligas. <i>Byzantine Monemvasia</i> (Ph. D. Dissertation). King's College, Univ. of London, 1987.
Kazhdan, Sostav	A. P. Kazhdan. <i>Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI - XIIvv.</i> Moscow, 1974.
Kordoses, Southern Greece	M. S. Kordoses. <i>Southern Greece under the Franks (1204 - 1262). A Study of the Greek Population and the Orthodox Church under the Frankish Dominion.</i> Ioannina, 1987.
Kordoses, Conquest	M.S. Kordoses. 'Η κατάκτηση τῆς Νότιας Ἑλλάδος ἀπὸ τοὺς Φράγκους. Ἱστορικά καὶ τοπογραφικά προβλήματα. Thessaloniki, 1986.
LGIKT	<i>Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj institut kul'tury. Trudy (Leningrad State Institute of Culture. Transactions).</i> Leningrad.
Libro	<i>Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea compilado por comandamiento de don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem.</i> Ed. by A. Morel - Fatio. Geneva, 1885.
Litavrin, 'Problema'	G. G. Litavrin. 'Problema simbioza v Latinskih gosudarstvah obrazovannyh na teritorii Vizantii.' XVe CIEB, I/3 (Athens, 1976): 3 - 24.
Livre	<i>Livre de la conquête de la princée de l' Amorie.</i> Ed. by J. Longnon. Paris, 1911.
Longnon, Compagnons	J. Longnon. <i>Les Compagnons de Villehardouin. Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade.</i> Geneva, 1978.
—, Empire	J. Longnon. <i>L' Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée.</i> Paris, 1949.
MA	<i>Le Moyen âge. Revue d' histoire et de philologie</i>
Medvedev, Mistra	I. P. Medvedev. <i>Mistra. Očerki istorii i kultury pozdnevizantijskogo goroda.</i> Leningrad, 1973.
MHR	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
Miller, Essays	W. Miller. <i>Essays on the Latin Orient.</i> Cambridge, 1921.
—, Latins	W. Miller. <i>The Latins in the Levant. A History of</i>

NE	<i>Frankish Greece (1204 - 1566).</i> London, 1908.
OCh	<i>Néos 'Ελληνομνήμων</i>
P	<i>Orientalia Christiana</i>
Panagopoulos, 'Architecture'	<i>Πελοποννησιακά</i> B. Kitsiki - Panagopoulos. 'Medieval Architecture in Greece: Western Monastic Orders in the Latin States Formed on Byzantine Territory.' In <i>Actes du XVe CIEB</i> , vol. 2. Athens, 1981: 273 - 88.
—, Monasteries	B. Kitsiki Panagopoulos. <i>Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece.</i> Chicago, 1979.
'Petitions'	'Δύο αναφοραί μητροπολίτου Μονεμβασίας πρὸς τὸν Πατριάρχην.' NE 12 (1915): 257 - 318.
PG/PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graecolatina.</i> Edited by J. - P. Migne. Paris.
Philippson, Landschaften, 1/2	A. Philippson. <i>Die griechischen Landschaften.</i> Ed. by E. Kirsten. Vol. 3, <i>Der Peloponnes</i> , pts. 1 - 2. Frankfurt-on-Main, 1959.
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologen Zeit.</i> Prepared by E. Trapp in co-operation with R. Walter and H. - V. Beyer. Vienna.
PP	<i>Πελοποννησιακή πρωτοχρονιά.</i>
Praktika I, II/1, II/2, III	Πρακτικά τοῦ Α' (vol. 2)/Β' (vols. I - 2)/Γ' διευθ. Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν. Athens: 1976 - 8/1981 - 2/1987 - 8.
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
RESEE	<i>Revue des études sud - est européennes</i>
RHSEE	<i>Revue historique du sud - est européen</i>
RSBS	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi</i>
S	<i>Σύμμεικτα</i>
Savvides, 'Note'	A. G. C. Savvides. 'A Note on the Death of Leo Sgurus in A.D. 1208.' <i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i> 12 (1988): 289 - 95.
—, 'Strife'	A. Savvides. 'Internal Strife and Unrest in Later Byzantium: XIth - XIIIth Centuries (A.D. 1025 - 1261). The Case of Urban and Provincial Insurrections (Causes and Effects).' S 7 (1987): 237 - 73.
Savvides, MGEI	A. Savvides. 'Σγουροί: Σγουρός Λέων.' In: <i>Μεγάλη Γενική Ἑγκυκλοπαιδεία ΥΔΡΙΑ</i> 47 (1987) 74 - 6.

SF	<i>Südost - Forschungen</i>
SV	<i>Srednie veka (The Middle Ages)</i> . Moscow.
SVz	<i>Studi Veneziani</i>
Thiriet 'Symbiose'	F. Thiriet. 'La Symbiose dans les États Latins formés sur les territoires de la Romania byzantine (1202 à 1261): phénomènes religieux.' XVe CIEB, I/3 (Athens, 1976): 1 - 35.
TIB, 1 (Koder); 3 (Soustal)	<i>Tabula imperii byzantini</i> . Ed. by H. Hunger. Vol. 1, <i>Hellas und Thessalia</i> by J. Koder and Fr. Hild. Vienna, 197; vol. 3, <i>Nikopolis und Kephallenia</i> by P. Soustal and J. Koder. Vienna, 1981.
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
Topping, 'Co-existence'	P. Topping. 'Co-existence of Greeks and Latins in Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete'. In idem, <i>Studies on Latin Greece. A.D. 1205 - 1715</i> . VRL, 1977, no. XI: 3 - 23.
Van der Vin, Travellers, 1 - 2	J.P.A. Van der Vin. <i>Travellers to Greece and Constantinople. Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales</i> . 2 vols. Instabul, 1980.
Villehardouin	Villehardouin. <i>La conquête de Constantinople</i> . Ed. by E. Faral. Vol. 2 (1203 - 1207). Paris, 1939.
VO	<i>Vizantijskie očerki. Trudy sovetskikh učjonyh k...kongressu vizantinistov (Byzantine Studies. Papers of the Soviet scholars to the... Byzantine Congress)</i> . Moscow.
VRL	Variorum Reprints. London.
VV	<i>Vizantisjki vremennik</i>
Wolff, 'Organization'	R. Lee Wolff. 'The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204 - 1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest'. In idem, <i>Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople</i> . VRL, 1976, no. VIII: 33 - 60.
XVe CIEB, I/1, 3 (Athens, 1976)	Rapports et co - rapports. I (Histoire), 1: Forces centrifuges et forces centripètes dans le monde byzantin entre 1071 et 1261; 3: La symbiose dans les États latins formés sur les territoires byzantins: phénomènes sociaux, économiques, religieux et culturels.
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta</i>

INTRODUCTION

«Τὶ κατὰ πληξὴ θὰ ἔκαμαν στοὺς
Ἕλληνας, τοὺς ξεπεσμένους
ραγιάδες, οἱ Φράγκοι!»

N. Καζαντζάκης*

Even to this day unlettered Greeks still call the Europeans «Φράγκοι» and taunt a convert to Catholicism with the words, 'You have become a Frank' (ἐφράγκεψες).¹ But if we look back on the Byzantine past we shall see that until near the eleventh century this was a name given only to the genuine Franks and their country, later France². The first Franks to come in the service of

* "Ἕλληνας καὶ Φράγκοι", *PP* 7 (1963), 32.

1. φραγκεύω - γίνομαι φράγκος, καθολικός. Cf. A. Vlachos (ed.), *Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνογαλλικόν* (Athens, 1897), 942: φράγκος - Européen, occidental; franc; Catholique; S.A. Koumanoudes, *Συναγωγή Νέων Λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1900), 1084-5 (and φραγκογάλλος); A. Kyriakides, *Λεξικὸν Ἑλληνοαγγλικόν μετὰ κυπριακοῦ λεξιλογίου*, 2nd end. (Athens, 1909), 830: φράγκος - European; Western European; Frank; Roman Catholic. See also D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine View of Western Europe', *GRBS* 8/4 (1967), 338-9; id., 'Popular Religious Roots of the Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons', in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300* (Toronto, 1969), 337. Often the word is used pejoratively.

2. E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from*

the Emperor in Constantinople were the warriors of Frigeridus and Ricomer sent to Valens by Gratian against the Ostrogoths. Under the government by the civil aristocracy of the capital, when mercenaries were 'once more brought into prominence', step by step the name turned out to be a common one for all those who came from the western parts of Europe; very often it was used about the most numerous among them—the Normans.³ After 1204 and in the thirteenth century all the inhabitants of Western Europe came already, and for ever, to be Franks, while the form applied to denominate the French proper may often perplex the modern reader.⁴ In contrast to *Grecus*, *Francus* was perceived as *Latinus* and the charge of following the traditions of the Franks (Latins) became the greatest insult to the Orthodox Greek.⁵

In Western Europe the name 'Frank' underwent a certain evolution, too. In the twelfth century the memory of the time when it covered not only the inhabitants of France then, but of Rhineland and Bavaria as well, was still alive; however, this was no longer its primary meaning. What is more, the opposition 'French-Germans' was also realized in the mutual challenge of the right to call themselves 'Franks', i. e. 'free'. The usage of 'frank' in the sense of a 'free man', whence the verb 'affrancare' - 'to free from the

B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100) (New York-Leipzig, 1904), 1151: φράγκος - Francus, Frank (in the fifth and the sixth centuries); Φραγκία - Francia, the country of the Franks, France (Constantine Porphyrogenitos); ἡ φραγκική, sc. χώρα, = Φραγκία - French (Anna Komnene).

3. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, transl. by Joan Hussey (T.J. Press Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall, 1984), 332; R. Janin, 'Les Francs au service des "Byzantins"', *EO* 29 (1930), 61-4; Brand, *BCH*, 4.

4. See for instance Choniates, 596, 11. 43-4: «ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Φραγκίσκων καὶ Λαμπάρδων γένους»; George Pachymeres, *De Michaelae Paleologo*, III.8 (ed. A. Failler [Paris, 1984], 1: 249, l. 19): «ῥηγὸς τῶν Φραντζίσκων». Cf. H.F. Tozer, 'The Franks in the Peloponnese', *JHS* 4 (1883), 166.

5. Jacoby, 'Encounter', 889 n. 73; id., 'Byzantium', 6; D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine View...', 338.

chains of slavery/servitude', was widespread at the close of the Early Middle Ages⁶.

The opposition «Ρωμαῖοι»/'Greeks' - 'Franks' was backed by the attitude towards foreigners in general — both in the Empire and in the West. The aliens, including Venetians and mercenaries, were not considered to be members of the Byzantine society. They were called «ἔθνικοί», «ἑξωτικοί», «ἰσοπολίτες». In the second half of the eleventh century the Norman mercenary contingents caused quite a lot of trouble to the Empire and, naturally, they were labelled 'perfidious', 'greedy', 'ungrateful'. But at the same time everybody praised their courage and soldierly spirit⁷. Several of these mercenaries established families which later were gradually hellenized, converted to Orthodoxy and even entered the social elite. Such were the Rogerios, the Raoul and the Petraliphas families as distinct from the Phrangopouloi and the Oumpertopouloi, for example. In the next century the policy of the Komnenoi reinforced the contradiction of the different opinions. As early as the reign of Alexios I a school for children of alien parentage was established at the church of St. Paul in Constantinople and from 1139 on, the documents addressed to western rulers already contained a translation into Latin.⁸

Under Manuel I the patronage of foreigners reached its climax. The chivalrous ethos made its way into the Byzantine aristocratic milieu and Manuel himself behaved more like a knight than like

6. Jacoby, loc. cit.; G. Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), 647-8. Cf. R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1959), 18-9.

7. R. Janin, op. cit., 71; D.A. Zakythinos, 'Byzance État national ou multinational', *DChAE* 4/10 (1980-1), 45.

8. D.M. Nicol, 'Symbiosis and Integration. Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to the 13th centuries', *BF* VII (1979), 114-6, 122; R.S. Lopez, 'Foreigners in Byzantium', in id., *Byzantium and the World Around It: Economic and Institutional Relations* (VRL, 1978), no. XIV:343; D.A. Zakythinos, op. cit., 50.

an Emperor of the Romans. Probably this type of behaviour had reinforced the belief of William of Tyre that Manuel was the most powerful ruler on earth. It even won the approval of some of Manuel's compatriots, while today there are scholars who see in him "one of the first Byzantine realists" — ready to learn and learning from the West. According to Paul Magdalino in Manuel's time the Byzantine society turned out to be the first one that experienced the problems of "westernization".⁹ But none of the Western princesses-empresses became popular and the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael III openly declared that he preferred the coming of the Seljuqs to the concord with the Latins¹⁰. The men in the street did not understand the novelties of the Emperor and in May 1182 the outrages against the western merchants and mercenaries in Constantinople uncovered moods that were near to frantic hatred.

In the twelfth century there were contradictory trends in the West, too. On the one hand, in the intellectual contacts a certain change for the better came into being — a number of translators from Greek appeared, mostly in Italy. The new translations of Aristotle and his scholiasts contributed much to the development of the studium in the University of Paris at the close of the century.¹¹ On

9. P. Magdalino, 'The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos', *BF* XIII (1988), 171, 199; D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine View...', 328. Cf. Ch. Diehl, 'Byzance et l'Occident à l'époque des croisades', in id., *Figures byzantines*, 2nd ser. (Paris, 1948), 18-20.

10. R.S. Lopez, *op. cit.*, 342; A. Argyriou, 'Remarques sur quelques listes grecques énumérant les hérésies latines', *BF* IV (1972), 18.

11. G. Duby - R. Mandrou, *Histoire de la civilisation française*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 169; R.W. Southern, *op. cit.*, 64-5. Cf. F. Tinnefeld, 'Das Niveau der abendländischen Wissenschaft aus der Sicht gebildeter Byzantiner im 13. und 14. Jh.', *BF* VI (1979), 244 n. 3. Fr. Thiriet ('Symbiose', 4, 5 n. 7) even claims that at the close of the twelfth century, "alors que les Occidentaux se pressaient... dans la Romania", "on pourrait se risquer à parler de symbiose". I am indebted to Dr. Michael Kordoses who was so kind as to send me a photocopy of Thiriet's paper, otherwise inaccessible to me.

the other hand, in the West, too, the Byzantines were ranked with the aliens. Their Empire evoked astonishment, envy, hatred, malice, even embarrassment but neither understanding nor respect. The pilgrims who passed through its territories on their way to the Holy Land were repelled by the delicacy of the Byzantines and in the beginning of the century Saewulf admitted that he remained on board or stayed in deserted hovels on the islands, "quia Greci non sunt hospitales".¹²

The Crusades deepened the bias. Although within the sphere of ideas they were not the result of any burst of 'nationalism' but were bred by the sense of unity of God's folk, Byzantium remained a stranger to their religious ideal which, besides, was dangerous for her. She did not understand it and looked upon the participation of the clergy in the Western Holy War as a monstrous deed.¹³ The crusaders themselves spared no 'compliments' concerning the Greeks — arrogance, perfidy, haughtiness, servility, slyness and even impiety. They were more willing to grasp and appreciate Saladin than the Emperor of the Byzantines. One could hardly speak of considerable growth of animosity against the 'Greeks' in the course of the twelfth century but the fantastic tales about the fabulous treasures of Byzantium and about the impiety of its population increased more or less.¹⁴ If we judge by the words of

12. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:185; R.W. Southern, *op. cit.*, 36. Cf. *Ideologija feodal'nogo obščestva v Zapadnoj Evropre: problemy kul'tury i social'no-kul'turnyh predstavlenij Srednevekov'ja v sovremennoj zarubežnoj istoriografii* (Moscow, 1980), 106, 157 [for the translation of the titles see the bibliography list].

13. D.M. Nicol, *op. cit.*, 329; M. Canard, 'La guerre sainte dans le monde islamique et dans le monde chrétien', in id., *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient* (VRL, 1973), no. VIII: 620-1; P. Lemerle, 'Byzance et la Croisade', in id., *Le Monde de Byzance: histoire et institutions* (VRL, 1978), no. VIII: 617, 619. On the political atmosphere in general, see: J. Godfrey, *1204, the Unholy Crusade* (Oxford etc., 1980), 11-23.

14. W. Prevenier, in *MA* 81/1 (1975), 138 [a review of B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerseogen 1096 - 1204*. Assen, 1971]; R.W. Southern, *op. cit.*, 34, 40.

Eustathios of Thessalonica, even before 1204 the Latins had decided that the world was too narrow for them and the Greeks together, while the capture of Constantinople made Niketas Choniates exclaim bitterly: «οὐτῷ μέσον ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτῶν χάσμα διαφορᾶς ἐστήρικται μέγιστον...»¹⁵

After the fatal event the contradictory trends of the previous century came to the surface again. In the Nicaean army there were once more western mercenaries. And in a letter of 25 May 1205 Pope Innocent III appealed to the masters and scholars of the University of Paris to go to Greece, where they 'might strive to reform the study of letters in the place where it is known to have had its beginning'. Indeed, shortly after 1204 at the same University a "Collège de Constantinople" was founded for 'Greeks' striving to examine closely the French literature.¹⁶ For the East, however, the Pope's appeal did not lead to any results.

At the same time, on a popular level, the mutual charges of heresy came to the fore. The disaster of 1204 was termed to be the punishment for the 'Greeks' who had swerved from the true faith. Many of the modern scholars think that it was the Fourth Crusade which precipitated the awareness of the schism by all layers of Greek society. Indeed, it was not a mere accident that soon after 1204 the former metropolitan of Kyzikos, Constantine Stilbes, compiled the

15. Choniates, 301, l. 27. Cf. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, transl. by J.R.M. Jones (Canberra, 1988), 130, l. 1 (p. 131); P. Lemerle, 'L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'oecuménisme médiéval: les origines du "schisme" des Églises', in id., *Essais sur le monde byzantin* (VRL, 1980), no. VIII:244.

16. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:159; K.M. Setton, 'The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance', in id., *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (VRL, 1974), no. I: 31 n. 9; Innocent III, *Reg.*, VIII, in *PL* 215: 637-8. Partial English translation of the letter see at K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1976), 20 and at M. Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century', *MHR* 4/1 (1989), 112, 113. Cf. in general J. Godfrey, *op. cit.*, 147-56.

most detailed list of Latin errors and claimed that they were more than seventy.¹⁷

The long and short of the above observations is that the romantic statements of the scholars who in the nineteenth century studied the history of Greece after 1204 had their grounds. Jean-Alexander Buchon compared the knights to "une nouvelle race de Centaures". Henry Tozer and William Miller wrote that this was the "most intricate" and the "most fascinating stage in the life of Greece"; Diane de Guldenchrone thought it to have been a real "roman de la conquête" and Sir Rennell Rodd imagined "a new world of dramatic personages".¹⁸ But as we saw the feelings before and after the fall of Constantinople were mixed. And when science had to reveal the concrete forms of co-existence of conquerors and conquered who were mutually suspicious and were slaves to prejudices with 'prechristian roots' it had to fall for a long time behind literature.¹⁹ In this respect the following review of historiography, dealing in particular with Frankish Morea, will demonstrate how things have changed since the end of the nineteenth and the begin-

17. A. Argyriou, *op. cit.*, 19. The text is in J. Darrouzès, 'Le Mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins', *REB* XXI (1963), 61-91. Cf. id., 'Les Documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine', *REB* XXIII (1965), 42-88; B. Gorjanov, 'Religiozno-polemičeskaja literatura po voprosu ob otnošenii k latinjanam v Vizantii XIII i XIV vv.', *VV* 8 (1956), 135 f.; D.M. Nicol, 'Popular Religious Roots...', 323, 324-5, 337; Angold, 'Greeks', 67-9.

18. J.-A.-C. Buchon, 'Établissement féodal de la principauté française de Morée', extract of *Revue indépendante* (July, 1843), 7; H.F. Tozer, *op. cit.* 165; Miller, *Latins*, p. viii; D. de Guldenchrone, *L'Achaïe féodale. Étude sur le moyen âge en Grèce, 1205-1456* (Paris, 1886), 2; Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea. A Study of Greece in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (London, 1907), p. vi.

19. Topping, 'Co-existence', 4. Let me list some of the novels treating the theme: 'Ο αὐθέντης τοῦ Μορέως (Alexandros R. Rangaves), 'Η πριγκηπέσσα 'Ιζαμπώ (Angelos Terzakes), Γεννήθηκα στὸ χίλια τετρακόσια δύο (Panayotes Kanellopoulos). Cf. Miller, *Latins*, 9, 38, 66-7. Of course, the study of factual history has had a stable tradition ever since the time of Charles Du Cange.

ning of the twentieth century with the great step forward made in the study of its factual, social, economic and church history. Besides I shall not discuss the sporadic and almost ever neglecting specificity general conclusions, and shall centre my attention on the serious studies about the encounter of Franks and the local population in the Peloponnese after the autumn of 1204.

A question arises immediately: why the Peloponnese/Morea?²⁰ Ever since antiquity the peninsula has held a place apart in the history of Greece. Even nowadays it remains a specific region. The Greeks themselves tell Roumeliots from Moreots regarding the latter as more lively and more refined. Very rarely has the Peloponnese been an integrated state territory. It was namely after the crusader's conquest that for the first time the peninsula became the main body of a state the boundaries of which roughly coincided with its outlines — the so called Principality of Achaea/Morea. Together with the Kingdom of Cyprus this feudal state of "a most unusual sort" presents the most interesting and the most substantial territorial unity from the period of the frangokratia.²¹ The Principality survived for more than two centuries. In the beginning of 1430 the last Prince of Achaea, Centurione II Zaccaria, was forced to cede as a dowry to his daughter Caterina, already wife of despot Thomas Palaiologos, the last territories of the Principality, excluding

20. On the name of the Peloponnese and its versions, see M. Kordoses, 'Τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Πελοποννήσου κατὰ τὴν μέση Βυζαντινὴ περίοδο', in *Praktika III*, 210-14. On the name 'Μορέας' and its versions in the toponymy of the Peloponnese as well as on its predominance as a name meaning the whole peninsula in the thirteenth century, see *ibid.*, 210; Bon, *Morée*, 306 ff. The most probable etymology of the latter remains its derivation from the name of the widely spread in the Peloponneses mulberry tree (ἡ μορέα/ἡ μόρος). See *ibid.*, 311-4.

21. *Ibid.*, 688; Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1:9; G. Merkl, 'Die fränkische Peloponnes', *SF* 30 (1971), 246; H.F. Tozer, *op. cit.*, 167; J. Longnon, 'The Frankish States in Greece, 1204-1311', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K. M. Setton, vol. 2, *The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, ed. by R. Lee Wolff and H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1969), 249.

Arkadiá in Messenia. After his death two years later the latter was also added to Thomas' possessions.²² However, during this long period the Principality was in the midstream of events for quite a short time: Frankish Morea reached its zenith in the middle of the thirteenth century and after the return of the Byzantines in southeastern Peloponnese (1262) it was in search of allies or defenders almost without a break. But as a whole after 1204 the significance of the peninsula in the Eastern Mediterranean increased considerably and the co-existence of two different state structures in it made the case of the Morea much more interesting. When these territories were gradually transformed from outskirts of the Byzantine Empire into a centre — around Mistra, an original prerenaissance culture flourished in them.

All that arouses a permanent interest in the Principality of Achaea among the historians engaged in research on the Latin states in the Levant. Today its political and, to some extent, social and economic history are the best investigated in comparison to the other Greek territories under Frankish rule. Such a piecemeal method of approach, however, does not make use of the opportunities that the Peloponnese gives as a geographical and culture space, opportunities that are especially important for the comparative investigation of the frangokratia in Greece. The ignorance about all sides of historical process still leads to the origination of contradictory views among scholars: about the spheres and the nature of the contacts between conquerors and conquered, about their results and importance for the Greek and the Byzantine world; whether under certain conditions φραγκοκρατία was not of secondary importance, unlike φραγκοπαρουσία? And if, ultimately, the contacts were limited, with no consequences, what made the Principality of

22. Longnon, *Empire*, 351; Jacoby, 'Encounter', 874; *id.*, *Féodalité*, 21; Bon, *loc. cit.*; I. Božilov, 'La "Chronique de Morée" et l'histoire de Bulgarie au début du XIII^e siècle (1204-1207)', *BHR* 2 (1977), 38; *id.*, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186-1460)*. *Genealogija i prosopografia* (Sofia, 1985), 406.

Achaëa live for two hundred and-twenty five years? The return of the Frankish castles on the Eastern Mediterranean coast began almost simultaneously with the return of Byzantium in the Morea, but long before the beginning of the fourteenth century the King of Jerusalem possessed only the title while the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch had already vanished.²³ However, in comparison with these Crusader states the problem of the interaction between the Greeks and the Latins in former Byzantine territories, including the Peloponnese, still requires an all-embracing examination.²⁴

Already in the last century a thesis appeared (which survived even to our time) that the crusaders' conquest of the Morea reinforced the feelings of disgust and hatred, the incompatibility of temper and of manners, of conquerors and conquered. 'None of the archons was assimilated by the Franks and none accepted chivalry'.²⁵ Such statements turned out to be invalid in view of the progress of the studies in the field and are heard less and less often today.²⁶

With small exceptions the problem considered was investigated predominantly by western medievalists who had been working

23. J. Richard, 'Les Français hors de France au XIIIe et XIVe siècles', in id., *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident en Moyen Âge. Études et documents* (VRL, 1977), no. II:177.

24. Jacoby, 'Encounter', 903; Topping, 'Co-existence', 3; Litavrin, 'Problema', 19.

25. Ch.-A. Beving, *La principauté d'Achaïe et de Morée, 1204-1430* (Brussels, 1879), 55-62. Cf. B. Ferjančić, 'Rapports entre Grecs et Latins après 1204', *ZRVI* X (1967), 175; M. Dendias, 'Sur les rapports entre les Grecs et les Francs en Orient après 1204', *EEBS* 23 (1953), 371 f.

26. Cf. D. Potares, *Φράγχοι και Βενετοί στην Πελοπόννησο*. 'Επιμέλεια Διον. 'Ι. Βογοπούλου (Athens, 1959); A. Fouriotes, 'Οί Φράγχοι στὸ Μοριά', *PP* 3 (1959), 268-73. But P. L'Huiller ('La nature des relations ecclésiastiques gréco-latines après la prise de Constantinople par les croisés', in *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses* [Munich, 1960], 314) claims that the people compromised with the Latins.

alone for many years—Jean Longnon, Antoine Bon, David Jacoby, Peter Topping and, to some extent, Freddy Thiriet and Benjamin Hendrickx. A certain co-ordination was achieved in connection with the organization of the 14th International Congress of Historical Sciences (1975) and of the 15th Byzantine Congress (1976). During the first one the work of the third section was centred upon the encounter of civilizations in Europe ca. 1300, while during the second—upon the 'symbiosis in the Latin states established on Byzantine territories: social, economic, religious and cultural phenomena'. However, the main participants in these discussions were the scholars mentioned above. There were also some new view-points at the Joint Meeting of the XXII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies and of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East held at the University of Nottingham in March 1988.²⁷ In Greece the revival came with the activity of professor Chrysa Maltezou in the University of Crete, Rethymnon and in the Centre of Byzantine Studies in Athens and was materialized in the studies of Michael Kordoses of the University of Ioannina.²⁸

It is well-known that the 'doyen of the historians of Frankish Morea', Jean Longnon, was only 24 when he prepared a critical edition of the French version of the Chronicle of Morea. This edition is still in use today. In the extensive introduction to the text he notes that the 'encounter of the Latins and the Greeks had to be of considerable influence upon the life of the two races'.

27. Twelve of the main papers given there were published in a special issue of the *MHR* (vol. 4/1, June 1989) on Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204. The new viewpoints belong to A.T. Luttrell, M. Barber (op. cit.), M. Angold (op. cit.), J. Richard and D. Jacoby ('Byzantium'). On Jacoby's paper, see below, n. 42.

28. I am not dealing here with the well-known monographs of Dion. A. Zakythinos (*Le Despotat grec de Morée [1262-1460]*, 2 vols. [VRL, 1975 - add. and corr. by Chrysa Maltezou], because despite all references they are nevertheless treating mainly the Byzantine territories in the Morea.

For the Franks it marked at the same time efflorescence of court life and of chivalry, vast changes in the economic sphere and an important date in the relations between the East and the West. The Frankish conquest had a favourable influence upon the development of Greece: the trade expanded and the country prospered, while the contacts of the knights brought forth new elements in Greek literature and politics and the Greeks felt the 'national sentiment to arouse in their souls'.²⁹ In his later studies J. Longnon confirmed his conclusions in the same light. His classical monograph *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* contains a special chapter on the 'life' in the latter. J. Longnon even pays attention to the 'remnants' from the time of the frangokratia in the consciousness of the Greeks during the following period.³⁰ He compares feudal Greece to Achaia of the thirteenth century B. C. Its 'life' is represented through the Frankish court, 'people and institutions', 'social conditions', 'intellectual and artistic life'. Longnon is interested in the demographic changes as well, although he obviously overestimates the role that the knights played by 'bringing life to the villages'. And as a whole in the overall picture bright colours often are distinguished: when the author talks over the possibility for the rise of a 'French renaissance' in feudal Greece from the thirteenth century on, or discusses the 'long years of prosperity and peace provided' by the crusaders.³¹ The reasons for such conclusions lie in the placing of the exposition out of the changes within time and in the neglect of the mechanisms that brought forth the 'win-

29. *Livre*, introduction, p. xi, xii.

30. Longnon, *Empire*, 187-216, 250, 357-8. Cf. id., *Les Français d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, 1929), 200-59; id., 'Domination franque et civilisation grecque', in *Mélanges Charles Picard*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), 659-67.

31. Longnon, *Empire*, 187, 190-1, 215, 356-7; id., 'La vie rurale dans la Grèce franque', *JS* (Jan.-Mar., 1965), 343-57 [more moderately]. Contra: Carile, *Storia*, 307.

dow' phenomena which were backed by inadequately known everyday life.

Anyhow, the studies of Jean Longnon—based on a very good knowledge of the written sources—directed the search in the right path and remained without scholarly rivalry until the beginning of the fifties. In my knowledge the only study of the same period treating the problem considered was that of Nicolas Jorga where he by the range typical of him made a comparison to the Norman conquest of England in 1066. He saw the reasons for the different outcome in the lack of stability of the Frankish community in the Morea as well as in its paucity. Jorga made a traditional review of "les éléments de mélange" in the administrative organization, economy, the 'world of clerks', law and "le domaine de l'esprit".³²

Since the middle of the century the interest in the problem has been growing up. The question of a comparative and generalized investigation of the Crusader states in the Balkans and their links with Byzantium was put. Was it that they had much influenced the general political conditions on the peninsula, the population, the exchange of political ideas, the church relations, the folk customs and folklore, the art? According to Franz Dölger the answer was positive regarding the spread of the 'system of fiefs', of the Greek language in Frankish milieu, of intermarriages, and regarding the 'spiritual influence' exerted by the subordinate Greek population on the crusaders. Now the conclusions sound more moderately and the only 'fruit' of the contact is termed to have been the encounter of the 'Western world of chivalry' and the 'poetic talent of the Greek world'.³³

32. N. Jorga, 'France de Constantinople et de Morée', *RHSEE* XII/7-12 (1935), 339-56.

33. F. Dölger, 'Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten auf dem Balkan und Byzanz', *SF* 15 (1956), 150-1, 156. Cf. K. M. Setton, 'The Byzantine Background...', 38-40; Sp. Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe* (London, 1967), 162.

While these conclusions were generally valid for Frankish Morea, the monographs of Antoine Bon—finished in the fifties but to a great extent the result of his pre-war research, provided the sound ground of its investigation. It is obvious that Bon's monumental work (*Morée*) was ready in typescript when the survey of Byzantine Peloponnese was published.³⁴ The preface suggests that in 1965 the book has already been prepared for print. Being a disciple of Charles Diehl and in the best traditions of the French archaeological school Bon made it his object 'to reconstruct the appearance of Frankish Morea with its towns, villages and castles' and to attain the deepest possible knowledge of the country, its relief and its routes'. (1) At the same time he admits that the major problem is the question about the 'contact' of Franks and Greeks and of their civilizations—the one being rougher, still unaccomplished, while the other surpassing the first in many respects. (684) Notwithstanding that the Venetian territories, the survey of feudal institutions, of church organization and of economic activity remained outside the scope of the study, Bon made some new findings relevant to the 'contact'. On the one hand, they were the result of the first complete presentation of the history of the Principality: the room spared for history is the largest, although the author was unable to make use of a number of studies from the specialized literature of the sixties. On the other hand, A. Bon was above all a topographer and an archaeologist and it was namely in these two spheres that he depicted interesting features of the interaction between conquerors and conquered.³⁵

Besides the precise account of the territorial changes in the history of the Principality A. Bon proposed a clear distinction of the periods in its development as a whole and, in particular,

34. Bon, *Péloponnèse*; id. *Morée*, pp. vii-viii. Cf. P. Lemerle, 'Une province byzantine: le Péloponnèse', *B* 21/2 (1951), 341-2; G. Mergl, *op. cit.*, 251.

35. Ibid., 253; Jacoby, 'Encounter', 874 n. 2; M. Pacaut in *Revue historique* CCXLV (1971), 203 [a review of Bon's work].

in the evolution of the relations of Franks and Greeks. The roots of the flowering which in his view continued until the death of William II of Villehardouin (he put it in 1278) were hidden in the homogeneity and the sentiments of solidarity and loyalty among the crusaders, in the lack of any hostility towards their Greek subjects. (685-6) The latter had nothing to complain of under the new masters. (530) Without specifying his views it seems that A. Bon was inclined to deny the existence of feudalism in the Peloponnese before the coming of the crusaders. (684) The establishment of the feudal order after 1204 had favourable impact on the development of the agrarian relations under conditions which according to him probably were better than those of the Byzantine period. The villages and the country as a whole prospered. The Franks dispersed among the indigenous population and established close contacts with it. (530, 686)

Since the end of the thirteenth century, however, the conquerors started to nourish their vigour from outside and the previous unity vanished. That was the factor that cut the ground from under the Principality and gradually led up to its decline. There was no word any more whether the consent of the population with the 'well organized homogeneous Frankish feudalism' could be the 'hearth of a brilliant and original civilization'; Frankish Morea entered a period of insecurity and disorganization. (295, 687 - 8)

Despite the necessity of a closer attention to the 'contact of civilizations', to economic activity and town life, to feudal institutions and demographic structure, Bon's monograph is really the 'work of his life'.³⁶ It ends with the interesting hypothesis that the striking 'renaissance of Mistra, Geraki and Leontari' had its starting point in the progress of the Morea under the Franks. The local population was given a chance for a greater activity, and namely in the dealings with and in the fight against the conquerors the Moreots got a clearer idea of themselves.

36. G. Mergl, *op. cit.*, 258 ("Lebensarbeit", "Meisterwerk"); M. Pacaut, *loc. cit.*

It is obvious that Bon's monograph does not give an integral conception about all aspects of the 'contact between the civilizations' in the Morea after 1204. But it points to the need of a similar profound analysis in other directions as well, especially in the sphere of social and economic relations. It was this sphere that David Jacoby began with in order to advance his own theory of the problem concerning the 'encounter of the two societies'. In this process the preparatory stage was his thorough investigation of the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania*.

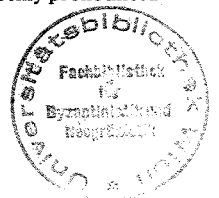
Jacoby's theory has been formed over a decade or so and, of course, underwent changes. But even in his first study of the Greek archons in Frankish Morea ('Archontes') the principal methods of approach and ideas were outlined. In order to sift out the 'contribution of the West' in the sphere of social relations and political organization (421), Jacoby examines the land regime in Byzantine Peloponnese and the consequences of the Frankish conquest as well as the law of the Greek archons according to the *Assizes* and their status in the feudal structure of the Morea after 1204. A key point in the study is the assertion that no primary source — of the period before the conquest or contemporary with it — mentions the existence of the military pronoia in the Peloponnese. (445, 479) The evidence in the *Chronicle of Morea* is anachronistic. The crusaders' conquest of the peninsula led up to 'effective feudalization of the confiscated lands while the estates which the archons preserved were assimilated to fiefs free from the rules of feudal law'. (445)

The theory of the "implantation" of "Western feudalism" and of the crusaders' adaptation to the Byzantine "substratum" — the social, legal and political regime of Byzantium, was definitely expounded several years later in the new critical study of the *Assizes of Romania*. Here for the first time D. Jacoby determined Western feudal law as a factor that had a deep impact on the structure of Greek society and brought forth substantial political, legal and fiscal transformations. During the encounter of the two "societies and civilizations with their structures, institutions and mentalities" in the Byzantine territories where Western feudalism was im-

planted, the phenomenon of continuity was more limited in comparison with the Venetian dominions. In the former there followed a privatization of state rights and prerogatives and society was set up as dependent on private law, each class being subordinate to a corresponding law regime.³⁷

Later D. Jacoby extended his analysis of the three aspects of the interaction between crusaders and Byzantines: the structure of Byzantine society before 1204, what was implanted by the Latins, and the final results. He seeks to find out the "pattern of coexistence", stressing that changes were bilateral and the "character of the encounter" was set up by the "nature of the ruling class" and the "structure of the local society". Byzantine society and law "inherited the clear-cut distinction between slaves and free men" while in the West the basic social status of a particular class or estate was synonymous with its legal one. The major change took place in the status of the Greek archons who after the middle of the thirteenth century rose from the stage of "personal integration" to the stage of infeudation which gained power in the next century. At the same time the whole social structure underwent a metamorphosis. Now it was divided into two distinct groups — the Franks and the local population. Thus the natural evolution of Greek society was "arrested": from a relatively "open" one it was transformed into a "highly stratified system of sociolegal classes" while the social status of the Greeks became hereditary. The "pattern of integration" appears to have psychological roots: the "class consciousness and self-confidence of the Frankish knights; their approach to the archontes; their practical needs; the eagerness of the Greeks to achieve integration".³⁸

37. Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 7, 13, 20, 309; id., 'Une classe fiscale à Byzance et en Roumanie latine: les inconnus du fisc, éléuthères ou étrangers', in *Actes du XIVe CIEB*, vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1975), 140. Among the reviewers of Jacoby's monograph it was only Gh. Cronț (in *Balkan Studies*, 15 [1974], 347-8) who openly pronounced



The last stage in the evolution of Jacoby's theory is connected with the elaboration of a general typology of the Latin states established on Byzantine territories after 1204. At first, the author was occupied with a study of the "economic phenomena of the symbiosis" in those states (preparing his already cited paper for the 15th Byzantine Congress). He had good reason to suggest that their comparative examination will advance the uncovering of "mentality models" which underlay the behaviour of the individuals and mostly of the classes and the societies interacting in the conquered areas. For the first time D. Jacoby assumes that the state of the local population changed for the worse in many respects and its economic burden grew heavier in comparison to that of the Byzantine regime. (18, 45, 47 - 8)

Some of Jacoby's findings and conclusions were confirmed by the paper of P. Topping presented at the same congress. The author treats the "feudal institutions and society" of the Franks as a "superstructure" but, on the other hand, is inclined to speak of "something like a Greco - Latin 'nation', a product of the archons' integration in the Frankish elite".³⁹

The paper presented by G. Litavrin (see n. 24) contains more clearly expressed contradictions with Jacoby's view. The Soviet scholar considers the interaction in the social and economic sphere of contacts as a factor of delayed action. (11) He is interested mainly in the Western impact on Greek society and its results;

himself against the author's thesis arguing that Byzantine feudalism lacked completeness and that the imposed from above new regime did not bring about substantial changes in the structure of legal institutions. Cf. D. M. Nicol in *English Historical Review* 88 (1973), 168; V. Hrochová in *BS* 35 (1974), 54.

38. Jacoby, 'Encounter', 874, 879, 883-4, 889-91, 899 ff.; id., 'États', 23, 26.

39. P. Topping, 'Co-existence', 4-5, 22. Unfortunately I was unable to compare this paper with the one presented by the same author at the XIVth International Congress of Historical Sciences - "Greeks and Latins in the XIIIth-XIVth Centuries: Some Aspects of Their Co-existence and *Cultural Interaction*" (the italics are mine). My book was already in press when this paper reached me.

in the spheres of contacts where widest strata of Byzantine population were in constant intercourse with the Franks; in the factors which prevented the rapprochement of the local social system and the one brought by the conquerors. (3) Litavrin sees the most limited contacts in the political and cultural spheres. Contacts were constant and really on a large scale only in the social and economic sphere. He has good reason to correct the formulation of the problem as one concerning the 'synthesis of social institutions' and not the 'symbiosis' of their creators. (7, 19) Nevertheless the Frankish regime in the Morea turned to be the most vital one and the contacts of the Latin and Greek elites the closest; these facts cannot be explained by denying the principal resemblance of the social and economic structure of both the Byzantine and Western feudal world. (11)

As far as the factors preventing the Greco-Latin rapprochement are concerned, Litavrin attaches great importance to the establishment by force of a foreign rule over a population conscious of its historical entity, subjugated only to the elite of the West-european society. Generally speaking, the close interaction of 'East-Christian and West-Christian civilizations' had little effect because it was not an interaction of two social systems. (19)

Fr. Thiriet also had substantial reasons against the usage of the term 'symbiosis' as regards the nature of religious contacts in the Latin states after 1204. (see n. 11) 'How can we speak of 'symbiosis' in this thirteenth century of hostility and incomprehension?' (3) He is right to correct the theme in one other point as well, claiming that 'the religious aspects enveloped all other ones'. (4) According to Thiriet it was in the Principality of the Morea that the 'efforts'/'chances for rapprochement' were most expressed and made some progress. (5, 23 - 4) However, notwithstanding that there "la coexistence a été mieux sauvegardée", that was "toujours davantage sur le plan social que sur le plan religieux". (35)

The activity of the 15th Byzantine Congress did not pass away without leaving a trace. Less than a decade later there appeared the first project for closer examination of «φραγκοκρατούμενο

ἑλληνισμό» in Southern Greece for the period after 1204 until 1262. Its preparatory stage was the thorough critical examination of the conquest proper.⁴⁰

The "study of the Greek population and the Orthodox Church under the Frankish dominion" that followed⁴¹ treats a topic which has not until now been the object of a special investigation. (10) The viewpoint is really shifted but the problem of the co-existence cannot be passed by (Part 1, Chapter VI: "Differences and Rapprochements Between the Two Societies"). In fact the material of the two parts of the book ("The People"; "The Church") is so organized as to help the answer of this question.

The study begins with the examination of the "attitude of the Franks to the local people". Despite some almost mental reservations the leading impression received is that of "bad relations", "mutual suspicion", "hatred", "opposition", "predominating antagonism and mistrust between the two societies". (21, 25 - 8, 54, 92) Major attention is paid to the Greek emigration, the "resistance" of the local population (including even "revolutionary movements"), and its "position" under the Franks. "After the establishment" of the latter in Greece "the two societies, Latins and Greeks, remained psychologically and in all other ways alien to each other". (92) Consequently, "there has taken place no substantial rapprochements between the two groups/elements of this divided society". (19, 94) Even the Greek archons and the Frankish landowners "remained as two distinct societies". (54) Some "social fusion" of those "two groups" appeared only after the integration of the archons into the Frankish society. (55)

However, the last part of our review will moderately strike at least one tone down. It concerns the recent study of D. Jacoby

40. Kordoses, *Conquest*. Cf. my review in *EB* 2 (1988), 97-9.

41. Id., *Southern Greece*. Cf. the review of J.-C. Cheynet in *REB* 47 (1989), 297-8. In the preface (p. 10) the author speaks of his intention to study the "problems of the land, the settlements, and the financial situation of the country in the near future".

intended to embrace the chief phenomena of the encounter of Greeks and Latins immediately after 1204 and in the next two centuries.⁴² In order to gauge the effects of the Latin conquest, Jacoby states, it is necessary to "determine the balance between continuity and change" in the "social structure, institutions, legal and religious traditions, culture and mentality" of both the Latins and the Byzantine population. A combination of three factors set the pattern for the "spheres, nature and degree of both continuity and change": "the existence of local or regional features prior to the Latin occupation; the conditions in which the conquest took place; the political and social impact of the various groups of conquerors on their respective territories". Among them "the most important factor" was the "composition and character of the conquering elites". (2 - 3)

In which spheres was the departure from the past most abrupt? First, according to D. Jacoby, was the change of a political nature: "political power became a Latin monopoly". (2, 3, 32) Secondly, was the "extension of conquerors' socio - legal stratification to the indigenous population". (5, 32) Thirdly, "the symbiotic relationship that developed between Latins and Greeks in daily life did not conceal the persistent, only marginally bridged rift, which existed between the two communities, nor their contrasting orientation, with strong Latin links to the West and the Greeks firmly rooted in the Byzantine past". (26, 32) Continuity "in varying degrees" was to be found in the use of Greek language and in

42. See n. 27 above. I had already defended my dissertation when during my stay in Athens (December, 1989) I came across the above mentioned volume of *MHR* merely by chance. Yet I dare say that the brilliant paper of Prof. Jacoby has left some space for my modest study made from a little bit different point of view. Unfortunately, vol. 6 of Setton's *History of the Crusades* (Madison, WI, 1989) where D. Jacoby has written an extensive chapter ('Social Evolution in Latin Greece', pp. 175-221) as well as his *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (VR Northampton, 1989, no. II) became accessible to me only when my book was already in press.

the survival of imperial taxation, of Byzantine administrative practices, private law and jurisdiction, and landholding. (10, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21)

As for the changes in the life and organization of the Greek Church, "religious symbiosis in Latin Romania, better documented for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was limited in scope and largely restricted to common worship". (23, 26)

In the sphere of economic evolution changes were generated by the entire drawing of Latin Romania "into the economic orbit of the West" and were marked in "agricultural management, production and marketing". Continuity was largely expressed on the level of "microeconomic structures". (12 - 4, 28 - 9, 32)

However, it was "most profound in the portion of the Greek community headed by the archontes, which functioned as an aggregation of autonomous socio-spacial networks." (33) By the fourteenth century the "cumulative, progressive and generalized progress" of their social integration had gathered speed. There was even "strong identification of many archontes and other Greeks with the values, attitudes and class - consciousness of Latin feudatories" that D. Jacoby styles as "acculturation", though "never fully achieved" with the exception of several cases. (8, 9, 26, 33)

"In sum, continuity, adaptation, and change (as well as "co-habitation", "co-operation", "compromise", "co-ordination", "acomodation", "interaction", "integration"—pp. 18, 12, 10, 33, 20, 9) were interconnecting and intersecting phenomena in Latin Romania". (33)

I allowed myself to cite in extension the most important passages of Jacoby's paper (and evolving theory as a whole) in order to demonstrate the great contribution he made to the investigation of the problems. The latter have already been posed and examined from the modern viewpoint in the field of medieval studies. Yet some aspects remain open to question while others still demand closer examination. First, the terminologically confusing definition of the research task that prevailed so far should be completely abandoned. It is inadequate to speak of an encounter of two

"worlds, cultures, civilizations" in some particular cases, e. g. in that of Frankish Morea. The Peloponnese was not a typical region of Byzantine civilization in the classical meaning of this term. The specificity of its development can be illustrated on different levels—taking some of its names in the Antiquity and the Middle Ages (see Chapter I) to the particular role it had in the period of the tourkokratia that led to the promotion of Nauplion as the first capital of the new Greek state. Jacoby's theory includes some extreme statements as regards the controversial problem of "Byzantine feudalism". The mechanisms which rule the adoption of the new anthropogeographical environment, the daily social and economic intercourse are still to be revealed. The demography of Frankish Morea takes its first steps. The major question whether there existed some commonly shared model (and what were its modifications) of interaction between the Franks and the indigenous population in the Latin states established on Byzantine territories after 1204 is still to be definitely answered.

The contradictory psychological situation examined in the beginning demands particular attention to the period of the conquest. The signs of co-operation should be distinguished from those of enduring interaction. The quick adaptation of the knights to the new conditions needs a thorough explanation. It is namely the conquest of the peninsula, dragged on for almost half a century, that presents the opportunity for studying the different types of behaviour and summarizing the reasons that led up to the gradual decline of the Principality after 1262. What is more, the return of the Byzantines to the Morea changed not only the general pattern of its development but the characteristics of the interaction as well.

The review of historiography points to the necessity of some notes with a view to the expressed critical findings and to the formulation of the problem considered.

1. The army which conquered the Peloponnesse was composed of knights who came from Flanders and Artois in the north to Provence in the south, but most of them were Champenois and Burgundians. Despite their different local origin, they brought with them insitutions, traditions, notions and values common to

feudal society in the northern part of the French kingdom at the time of Philip II Augustus (1180 - 1233) and of the neighbouring County of Burgundy. On 20 May 1224 Pope Honorius III, not without reason, wrote to Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis VIII, that in the Empire of Romania there had been created "quasi nova Francia".⁴³ The process of the social and legal constitution of French knighthood, the conformity or divergence of chivalrous ethos with/from social practice—these are phenomena the examination of which will certainly advance the study of crusaders' adaptation in the Morea. That is why an autonomous paragraph opening Chapter III was included: here using the last achievements of medieval research I have tried to present the nature of these phenomena. In the representation of the foreign contacting *milieu* the feudal lords of the Western Church who settled on the peninsula after 1204 are not taken into account because of their small number and the inefficiency of their activity. The same omission also concerns the Venetians, known to the local population before the historically established specific contact after the crusaders' conquest.

2. Of the same importance is the question to what extent the characteristics of the Peloponnese summarized in brief above were present in the Early Byzantine period, and especially in the twelfth century. The task of Chapter I is to answer this very question. I took into account the 'regionalization' of Byzantine provinces having already made objections to recent attempts at setting apart a 'Balkan region' in the Early Middle Ages. It seems to me more aptly to keep the old theoretical distinction of a 'synthesis' and a 'contact zone' in Southeastern Europe.⁴⁴ The 'classical'

43. *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, an. VIII, ep. 442, ed. P. Pressutti, vol. 2 (Rome, 1895), no. 5006: 250-1.

44. A. Ilieva, 'Balkanite - edinen region prez rannofeodalnija period?', *Vekove* 6 (1986), 73-80 (a review of *Rannefeodal'nye gosudarstva na Balkanah VI-XII vv.* [Moscow, 1985]).

Greek lands, the Peloponnese being their most typical area, fall in the 'synthesis zone'. However, there are reasons to set these lands apart from the 'synthesis zone' into a separate subregion.⁴⁵

First come the characteristics of Slav colonization. Recent studies of Slavonic toponyms have clearly shown that in Sterea and in the Peloponnese there were 'slavicized' areas, indeed, but there were also districts that remained undisturbed or slightly affected by the Slav invasion. In the Peloponnese these were the western part of Achaea, Elis (excluding Olympia), the plain of Messenia and Pylia, the extreme south of the Mani, almost all Laconia, central Arcadia with most of Kynouria, Argolis and Corinthia.⁴⁶ It was namely in Southern Greece, as well as in some areas in Thracia untouched by Slav settlements, that the great landed estates of Late Antiquity had certain continuity. The distribution of eleventh-century Balkan landed magnates (by origin, ownership of estates, or both) is quite indicative in this respect: approximately 3/4 of the total (36) were linked with the themes of Macedonia (13), the Peloponnese (5), Thrace (4), and Thessaly (4).⁴⁷ With all reservations in mind, the case of Danelis should have had something in common with the reality of midninth-century Peloponnese.⁴⁸ The major concentrations of magnates were essentially identical with major concentrations of sees/cities.

45. M.A. Barg - E.B. Černjak, 'Region kak kategorija vnutrennej tipologii klassovoantagonističeskikh formacij', in *Problemy social'no-ekonomičeskoj formacii* (Moscow, 1975), 40, 58, 76.

46. J. Koder, 'Zur Frage der slavischen Siedlungsgebiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland', *BZ* 71 (1978), 335-6, fig. 4 and especially M.S. Kordoses, 'Η σλαβική έποίκηση στην Πελοπόννησο μέ βάση τά σλαβικά τοπωνύμια', *Dodone* 10 (1981), 438-9, tables 3-4.

47. M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 85-6 map 18.

48. G. Litavrin in *Rannefeodal'nye gosudarstva...*, 103, 110. M. Hendy (*op. cit.*, 206-7) is even inclined to interpret Danelis' name as a "graecised form of the Slavonic Danilo/Danila, suggesting her to have been descended from the Slav colonisers of the peninsula".

The development of Peloponnesian towns in the Early Middle Ages also showed some specificity. Here they had the greatest mobility of the transurbanization type (see below Chapter I). At the close of the period it was namely the Greek towns that achieved increasing growth while later, under the Palaiologoi, the Peloponnesian towns were notable for a comparatively stable economic development.⁴⁹

3. In historical typology the geographical aspect of 'region' category is of secondary importance. But some of the social relations on the level of historical structure, the level of uniqueness, are predetermined by natural environment.⁵⁰ To my knowledge the geographical aspect of the Frankish conquest has not until now been thoroughly examined, neither, with a view to it, was the link 'society - nature' in the Peloponnese. That is why the first object of Chapter I is the survey of the anthropogeographical peculiarities of the peninsula which had their impact on the behaviour of both indigenous population and conquerors. For it is well-known that in the Middle Ages there was no tangible distance between nature and man, and in all ages the image of the surroundings determine to a certain degree the types of human communities, settlements, life style. In cases of a foreign conquest the biophysical and psychic features of the conquerors, the mechanisms of their model of adaptation to natural environment, and the image of the latter all play their parts.⁵¹

4. However, formulating the problem as 'interaction' and not as 'adaptation', I had the following reason. The nature of adaptation is the adjustment of society as an alive system in conformity with environment with the purpose of self-preservation of

49. *Ibid.*, 85; V. Hrochová, 'Aspects sociaux et économiques de la décadence des villes byzantines à l'époque des Paléologues', in *Actes du IIe CIESEE*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1972), 436 ff.

50. M.A. Barg - E.B. Černjak, *op. cit.*, 53, 57.

51. *Obščestvo i priroda* (Moscow, 1981), 12, 16, 48 (P.M. Kim - L.V. Danilova), 85-6, 94 (J.B. Bromlej), 96-100 (E.S. Markarjan).

the former; consequently adaptation is an initial and basic function of culture. But my research task is not the theoretical examination of culture; it is to reveal the latter's historically unique manifestation in a definite area and chronological reference.

The category of 'interaction' covers a certain premising, though. As we saw, some scholars considered the Frankish dominion and its consequences to have been surface phenomena which left no visible traces. Are there any reasons to speak of a bilateral process in depth, or, more adequately, only of influence/impact (even if it was a shared one)? First, it should be taken into account that cultural interaction being one of the highest stages of cultural contacts in general does not involve by all means a positive course and steadily active in both directions character, especially in the Middle Ages. I consider the comparative stability of the Principality and the development of the peninsula in the period of the tourkokratia, when its importance increased, as enough reasons to choose the term 'interaction' without predetermining the position of the Moreots (of all social groups) in the cultural intercourse with the Franks.

5. The definition of the second category order—the 'interaction' as 'socio-cultural', preferred to the 'interaction' of 'civilizations', 'cultures', 'societies', 'communities', is deduced on the base of the view of culture in general which I share. Today one may speak with reason that there exist as many definitions of culture as the scholars examining it theoretically are. Here come different approaches in this respect: evolutionist, structural, axiological, phenomenological, psychological, anthroposociological, semiotical.

Recently, concepts which treat human activity as socio-culturally intended actions and, therefore, are based on the category order 'society-culture', have spread more and more. Of course, the relation of society and culture in both directions is one of the most complex and most discussed problems of the social sciences today. I personally share that concept of culture in general which examines the latter to be man's development as a consciously aiming, creative, social being in two 'hypostases'. The subjective one (in-

teriorization) is the self-cognizance and the spiritual refinement; the objective one—the results of human activity in mastering the reality (exteriorization).⁵² In this sense culture is both a part and an aspect of the social—it is the latter's highest manifestation. Culture is a measure of mastering the conditions of social life and a form of social evolution of man. In any moment and for any historically definite society culture appears as both a static (culture milieu, culture heritage) and a changeable phenomenon (culture creativity) These are the two aspects of the socio-cultural process.⁵³

As far as the concept of 'civilization' is concerned, it really can be deduced only by correlating it with the concept of 'culture'. Regardless of the approach, it seems obvious that the differentiation of the two concepts with interrelated but not identical connotation does not provide good reason to speak of an interaction between civilizations but of interaction between cultures the subjects of which are the historically unique types of civilized societies. The latter interaction involves the former.

6. Defined in this way the problem considered requires a knowledge of the theory of cultural interaction. Despite the difference that exists between communication and intercourse as a main ring in any culture chain, the theory of communications applied to the process of cultural interaction advances its investigation. Both sides, the encoding and the interpreting, convey to each other information by means of symbols and this concerns especially cultural interaction in the Middle Ages. In terms of cybernetics as a science studying interrelations and interactions inside/between complex dynamic systems, culture proves to be

52. I.A. Marzel', 'Kul'tura, civilizacija i nauka', *LGIKT* 37 (1978), 76; T. Čakurov, *Psihologički aspekti na kulturata* (Sofia, 1985), 6, 24-5. V. Ž. Kelle - M. J. Koval'zon, *Teorija i istorija* (Moscow, 1981), 240, 246.

53. *Ibid.*, 239, 244; N.V. Gončarenko, *Duhovnaja kul'tura* (Kiev, 1980), 9; V.M. Mežuev, *Kul'tura i istorija* (Moscow, 1977), 149.

a sum total of culture information, the information systems being language, literature, art. With regard to the Middle Ages this demands the isolation on the level of abstraction of a Byzantine East-Christian and of a West-Christian hand-written information systems. In the case considered there emerges the problem of the intercourse between Franks and local population at the stage of almost dominant information incomprehension with different Christian information systems based on church service, ritual and hand-written literature. It is supposed that the importance of folklore unwritten information systems might have grown up.⁵⁴

Some findings that concern the processes of cultural interaction in general are also of considerable importance for the problems examined here. The extent of borrowing in range and depth determines the surface or strong characteristic of cultural contacts. The wider the front of the contact is, the more frequent the facts of resistance and hostile behaviour are. Does the absence of the latter in the Morea (with some small exceptions) mean that this front was extremely narrow? If in architecture the borrowing is peaceable fusion while in language, religion and morale initial differences prove to be lasting, how should we explain the absence of specific style in Frankish Morea?

The nature of the interaction also depends on the reasons which have caused it; in the case considered this is a conquest and a mechanical introduction of a foreign culture. Sometimes, however, military and political subjection objectively stimulates cultural development, e.g. the Norman invasions in Europe during the

54. P. Rusev, 'Problemut za kulturata i za kulturnoto vzaïmodejstv ie ot gledna točka na kibernetikata, teorijata za informacijata i obšata teorija za komunikaciite', in *Godišnik na VITIZ* 16 (1976), 16, 18-9, 34, 43; id., 'Vizantijskata kultura v Jugoiztočna Evropa kato problem na informacionnata sistema', in *Studia Balcanica* 8 (1974), 25, 26. On dynamic systems of socio-cultural type, see: J.W. Bennett, 'Ecosystem Analogies in Cultural Ecology', in *The Concept and Dynamics of Culture*, ed. by B. Bernardi (Paris, 1977), 18; N.V. Gončarenko, *op. cit.*, 60.

eleventh and the twelfth centuries. And even though the conditions of interaction are more favourable in case of cultures with akin world outlook principles, the other way about the impetus to development comes from another direction. Then, in the utmost degree, self-identification, self-cognizance and self-recognition of a particular culture are accomplished through the interaction—quite often as a result of the pressure of another culture. Cultrural interaction in itself does not call into being a particular type of culture but only precipitates its development. The exchange of values, eclectism, diffusion, renovation (consequently, vitality), impoverishment, continuity—these are the concrete types of cultural interaction. They do have the two-sided pattern characteristic of any interaction process.⁵⁵

And so, the dialogue is not between cultures and civilizations in general but between subjects of culture, and mostly between particular social structures, realized through culture itself. It is a means of intercourse, of inheritance of their experience and of new creation. Hence, when formulating the problem considered, I have styled the interaction as 'socio-cultural'. The purpose of the study with such an approach is determined as being an attempt for presentation, by means of culture as a social and human criterion, of both objective and subjective aspects of the socio-cultural interaction between the French knights and the Byzantine society in its Peloponnesian variant. That is why the survey of conquest—the widest front of this intercourse, is studied on two levels in separate paragraphs: horizontally—its time running, its event dimensions (Chapter II.1), and vertically—its characteristics by stages as regards the behaviour of the conquerors and of the defenders (Chapter III.2). The chronological period chosen is, in my opinion, the first historically possible one for the purpose of the attempt.

7. My last findings refer to some new points concerning the

55. *Ibid.*, 65-6, 80.

formal methodology of medieval culture theory and the concrete research methods.

For a long time the approach to history as a history of events has prevailed in the research on the Middle Ages. In recent decades in the study of mentalities, a further criterion for the interpretation of historical facts was gained, in addition to the political approach or that of intellectual, social and economic history. Scholars gradually came to the conclusion that, to quote one of the luminaries in the field, in fact history appears to be a history of man in society and of society constituted of living men.⁵⁶

More and more often Byzantium is included in studies of different medieval phenomena, mentality, and everyday life. If I have to mention names, it seems to me that first in the list come Alexander Kazhdan and André Guillou. The concept of "Homo Byzantinus" has been brought into use and we have already received an overall picture of the 'other (Byzantine) Middle Ages'—of men and women who lived and worked in the Byzantine world.⁵⁷

56. A. J. Gurevič, *Srednevekovyj mir: kul'tura bezmolstvujusčego bol'sinstva* (Moscow, 1990), 381. On the 'new old' approach, see: *Faire de l'histoire*, ed. by J. Le Goff and P. Nora, vols. 1-3 (Paris, 1975); *La nouvelle histoire*, ed. by J. Le Goff et al. (Paris, 1978); L. Stone, 'The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History', *Past and Present* 85 (1979); M. Vovelle, *Idéologies et mentalités* (Paris, 1982); J. Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago-London, 1980); id., *L'imaginaire médiéval. Essais* (Paris, 1985).

57. A. P. Kazhdan, *Vizantijskaja kul'tura* (Moscow, 1968); German transl.: *Byzanz und seine Kultur* (Berlin, 1973); Italian transl.: *Bisanzio e la sua civiltà* (Rome, 1983); id., 'In Search for the Heart of Byzantium. About Several Recent Books on Byzantine Civilization', *B* 51/1 (1981), 320-32; id. - G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (DO, Washington, 1982); id. - A. W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1985); A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine*. Collection de Grandes Civilisations dir. by R. Bloch (Paris, 1974). Cf. A. Ducellier, *Le drame de Byzance: idéal et échec d'une société chrétienne* (Paris, 1976); H.-G. Beck, 'Die Byzantiner und ihre Jenseits. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte einer Mentalität', in *Sitzungsberichte der*

Thus the anthropological approach to Byzantine culture as a medieval one and the related to it methods of a number of sciences come to the fore. These are the methods of linguistics, sociology, social psychology, folklore studies, history of literature and science of art. Especially important are socio-psychological methods.⁵⁸ When applying them it is necessary to take into account the psychological projections of the relations of personal subordination as typical of feudalism. Then the individual who had not yet become a personality was inseparable from the group and from the objective conditions of production. His activity passed within the framework of a narrow space the centre of which was the town or the village. The medieval man was a man of the small group and the appurtenance to the latter bordered on total absorption of his individuality, on identification with the group and its status.⁵⁹ With the particular historical and geographical characteristics of Peloponnese this regularity manifested itself more fully.

In the Middle Ages man's behaviour followed some former model and was trying to rise to the level of the historical time of the community (state, Empire, Papacy), to cut loose from the amorphous daily round. Medieval family, the nature of which did not undergo general changes (neither did the mental constitution of peasantry) was the real and the closest to the individual embodiment of time.⁶⁰ In Byzantium the sphere of official life

Bayer. *Ak. der Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl.* 6 (1979); C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980).

58. T. Čakurov, *op. cit.*, 9-10; A. J. Gurevič, *Problemy srednevekovoj narodnoj kul'tury* (Moscow, 1981), 345; *Kul'tura i obščestvov srednie veka: Metodologija i metodika zarubežnyh issledovanij* (Moscow, 1982), 5, 8.

59. *Ibid.*, 158; V. Ž. Kelle - M. J. Koval'zon, *op. cit.*, 166-7; A. J. Gurevič, 'Social'naja psihologija i istorija. Istočnikovovedčeskij aspekt', in *Istočnikovvedenie. Teoretičeskie i metodičeskie prolemy* (Moscow, 1969), 413.

60. *Kul'tura i obščestvo...*, 9, 129, 148, 153; A. J. Gurevič, *Problemy...*, 12-3, 341-2.

had hyper-dimensions, but for the existence of a province like the Peloponnese it was not so important. However, when the conquerors appeared and the peninsula became an almost complete counterpart to a state, things changed. That is why Chapter II and IV are not centred upon the opposition of official and everyday life but rather upon the polarization of town and country in the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century, however unaccomplished it might have been.

I shall finish my introduction with a brief review concerning only some new details in the investigation of the familiar sources about Frankish Morea in the period considered as well as concerning some unknown or slightly known until recently source data. The *terminus post quem* of this review will be the early sixties when, as I have pointed out, Bon's fundamental work, with an extensive review of written topographical and archaeological sources, had already been prepared for printing.

Despite Kordoses' statement that the *Chronicle of Morea* "offers some but not very much information ['about the conquered Greek people'], except in connection with warfare"⁶¹, in my opinion the approach proposed sets it a place apart. Particular attention should be paid to its Greek version composed between 1341/6 and 1337/88 and telling events of the period from 1095 until 1292. Its language is the vernacular Greek spoken in the Morea in the fourteenth century and containing quite a few archaisms, elements of official Byzantine speech as well as French loan-words. By means of a computer M. J. Jeffreys demonstrated that the formulas innate in the Homeric epos are also typical of the Greek version and, consequently, the latter could have been an oral creation.⁶²

61. *Conquest*, 10.

62. M. J. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of the Morea - a Greek Oral Poem?', in *Actes du XI^e CIEB*, vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1975), 153-5; *id.*, 'Formulas in the Chronicle of the Morea', *DOP* 27 (1973), 191-2. According to St. Stanitsas ('La résumé de la Chronique de Morée Grecque dans la Chronique de 1570 [ou Chronographie

The narrative of the French version comes to an end at the parliament summoned in Corinth by the Prince of Achaea Philip of Savoy, in 1305. The first, abridged, version in French had been composed ca. 1320 - 1324 from a more detailed, but lost some twenty years later, Moreot original. The version was finally worded between July 1341 and October 1346. As compared to the Greek one it is more lapidary as a whole but gives more detailed information about certain events as well as more chronological references. Although it has the same unclear points and deformities, at several passages the narrative breaks off while the lacunas are not present in the Greek text.⁶³

The Italian version, abridged from the Greek one for the period of 1097 until 1292, has been redated by D. Jacoby to the sixteenth century as distinct from the old date (two centuries earlier) given by its editor Ch. Hopf.⁶⁴

The study of the same scholar demonstrated that the text of the Aragonese version had been drawn to a close on 23 October 1393; it narrates events of the period from 1200 until 1377. Between

de Dorothée], la Chronique de Em. Malaxos et celle de M. Kighalas', in *Résumés du XVe CIEB* (Athens, 1976)), it is probable that before 1570 there existed in the Peloponnese one more manuscript of the Chronicle which was older and more complete than the five manuscripts known today. Cf. id., 'Origines des manuscrits P (Paris. Gr. 2898) et T (Taur. B.II.1) de la Chronique de Morée Grecque' in *Praktika I*, 227-40; id., 'Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ 1570 καὶ οἱ παραλλαγές του: Τὰ Χρονικὰ τοῦ Ψεύδο-Δωροθέου καὶ Μ. Μαλαξοῦ', *P* 16 (1985-6), 593-633.

63. Jacoby, 'Considérations', 133, 135, 147-51, 188; id., 'Encounter', 889 n. 71. Recently I. Božilov ('Quelques notes sur les versions de la Chronique de Morée', in *Résumés...*; 'La "Chronique de Morée" et l'histoire de Bulgarie au début du XIIIe siècle [1204-1207]', *BHR* 2 (1977), 47-8, 54) discovered in the French version one more lacuna — the battle of Adrianople. On the end of the version (at 1305), see: D.M. Nicol, 'The End of the Livre de la Conquête: a Chronological Note', *BF* XII (1987), 211 contra Bon, *Morée*, 16 and G. Kechayoglou, 'Δυσκολίες στὸ κείμενο τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ Μορέως', *Ἑλληνικά* 27/2 (1974), 255 (at 1304).

64. In *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p. xlii. Cf. Jacoby, 'Considérations', 159, 188-9.

1377 and 1381 in the Morea the first version in French was composed, then it was carried to Avignon and there translated into Aragonese. Shortly before the extant manuscript was copied in 1393, the text had been revised and expanded on the basis of some new sources. More compact as it is, the Aragonese version contains passages that the French and the Greek ones lack, and about certain events it is even more precise and exhaustive. These new findings took the edge off, to some extent, of Bon's doubts in its greater reliability as compared to the French and the Greek version.⁶⁵

The questions concerning the general historical value of the Chronicle, the nature of the relation of the French to the Greek version (and vice versa), the social address of their compilers are still waiting definitive answers despite the progress achieved in the recent twenty years. The origin of the two versions—separately from a common prototype or one from the other—remains a major problem. The old theory of Ch. Hopf and J. Longnon that the language of that original had been Italian or, at least, the French version had been composed in the Morea by an Italian who knew French, was again presented, without a developed argumentation though.⁶⁶

The standpoint of a common origin of the two versions was expounded in detail by D. Jacoby, who considers that the Greek one have been translated from the last, without lacunas, French version, composed between 1341 and 1346 and preceding the only extant manuscript with its text, dated to the early fifteenth century. The French version (and its prototype) were prepared for the French knighthood and expressed its mentality, while the Greek

65. In *Morée*, 17-8. Cf. Jacoby, op. cit., 133, 148, 161-5, 174, 177-9, 188; M. J. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version', *BZ* 68/3 (1975), 305; I. Božilov, 'La "Chronique"...', 39, 41.

66. Bon, *Morée*, 17 n. 1. This view remains isolated. On the history of the controversy, see M. J. Jeffreys, op. cit., 304 ff.

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one was composed by a Greek archon who considered himself a Frank and addressed his work to the other Greek-speaking feudatories with the same self-awareness. He had to enlarge some parts in conformity with the rules of 'political' metre of Greek popular verse and with the purpose of shaping the speech rhetorically. According to D. Jacoby the Greek version is of doubtful value for the thirteenth century.⁶⁷

The theory of J. Schmitt and T. de Loray that the French version had been abridged from the Greek one was also taken over. The studies of M. J. Jeffreys to some extent made invalid Jacoby's argument (used also by G. Spadaro and H. Lurier) that the expansion, the reiterations and confusions in the Greek version could not have been inherent in an original text and are the result of translation. On the other hand, he demonstrated that a great part of the words and phrases of French origin in H (Ms Fabricius 57) had not been due to a translator's intervention and could have been in use at least among some groups of Moreot society. At the same time the examination of the formulas in the Greek version revealed a number of features typical of the whole genre of the early demotic poetry and this really suggests an original work.⁶⁸

67. In 'Archontes', 428-30; 'Considérations', 151-5, 182-4, 188 (stemma); 'Encounter', 877, 897; 'Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean', *MHR* 1/2 (1986), 178-9; 'Byzantium', 8. Cf. Topping, 'Co-existence', 8-10; I. P. Medvedev, 'K voprosy o social'noj terminologii Morejskoj hroniki', in *VO* (1977), 145. On some difficulties that face Jacoby's explanation on the lacunas in the French version, see: I. Božilov, *op. cit.*, 55. Cf. M. J. Jeffreys, *op. cit.*, 316.

68. *Ibid.*, 308, 315-7, 321-2, 348-9. On critical notes, see: Jacoby, 'Etats', 8 n. 25. The hypothesis of an original Greek poem from which the French version was composed is also supported by G. Kechayoglou (*op. cit.*, 267) and St. Stanitsas who has long ago promised a new critical edition and a study of the language of the Greek version. The last (in my knowledge) claim in the same direction, relating the origin of the prototype with the Mani, belongs to D.V. Vayakakos:

Anyhow, the present state of the studies concerning the *Chronicle of Morea* demands a very careful treatment of this source, especially of the Greek version. A considerable portion of its information is due to the survival of the oral tradition as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. At certain points, for example when describing and glorifying the conquest, stock phrases are used often and should be controlled by other sources. For the purpose of my study, however, the Chronicle is of a particular importance. The image of the conquest that survived, the knowledge about the life of the Moreot society, prevents me from considering it a 'second-hand' source for the social and cultural history of the Principality even in the thirteenth century.⁶⁹

The only legislative record drawn up in Romania, the so called *Assizes of Romania*, were also studied *de novo* by D. Jacoby. His fresh findings and new conclusions concern several aspects of the origin, sources, dating and further history of the text. The hypothesis that ca. 1276 a real collection of assizes had already existed in the office of the Prince was confirmed by some new arguments. According to Jacoby the original French text of the *Assizes* (only the translation of which into a Venetian dialect survived) was drawn up by an anonymous French lawyer on his initiative between 1333 and 1346. The *Assizes* were not officially sanctioned in the Principality, but by a resolution of the Venetian senate their edition was prepared for the needs of NegrepontQ ca. 1421

Γλωσσικά στοιχεία του Χρονικού του Μορέως και απήχησης θεσμών της Φραγκοκρατίας εις την διάλεκτον και τὰ ἔθιμα τῆς Μάνης', *P* 16 (1985-6), 465-512. Cf. as far back as W. M. Leake, *Peloponnesiaca: A Supplement to the Travels in the Morea* (London, 1846), 158.

69. Cf. H. E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: the Chronicle of Morea* (New York, 1964), 59-60; M. J. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of the Morea - a Greek Oral Poem...', 156; Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 77-8, 79 n. 4; *id.*, 'Plemstvo' 121; J. Irmscher, 'Les Franks — représentants de la littérature en Grec vulgaire', *BF* VII (1979), 59-60.

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the French text was copied and the extant manuscripts contain namely these copies.⁷⁰

In accord with M. Kordoses I value highly the epistolography of the period considered. With due attention are treated the somewhat forgotten until recently letter of Demetrios Chomatianos written in or after December 1222 and the published in the middle of the seventies documents of the vestry of John Apokaukos (ca. 1155-1232/5), metropolitan of Naupaktos.⁷¹

I have also made use of all accessible to me contributions of the last three decades in the sphere of demography, toponymics, topography and archaeology of the Peloponnese during the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. The same refers to the new achievements of sphragistics and numismatics.⁷²

Finally, for the purpose of the study I have examined the accessible to me editions of Peloponnesian folksongs. It is known that the folklore tradition which can be traced back in contemporary Greece was established as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. There exist hypotheses that it can be caught at a rudimentary stage about three centuries earlier. As far as the historical reliability is concerned, it should be taken into account that in folklore the form plays a role comparable to that of the contents.

70. Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 62-3, 65-8, 74, 82, 90; id., 'Les "Assizes de Romanie" et le droit vénitien dans les colonies vénitiennes', in id., *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècles. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (VRL, 1979), no. IV: 352-3.

71. Chomatianos, cols. 87-98; E. Bees-Sepherlis, *Aus dem Nachlaß von N. A. Bees: Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos, des Metropolitan von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)* (Athens, 1976 = *BNJ* 21 [1971-4]). Cf. Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 10; P. A. Magdalino, 'A Neglected Authority for the History of the Peloponnese in the Early Thirteenth Century: Demetrios Chomatianos, Archbishop of Bulgaria', *BZ* 70/2 (1977), 316-23; V.A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII-XV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk, 1987), 11-20 (about letters as a kind of historical source; cf. my review of the book in *EB* 1 [1990]).

72. On concrete references, see the corresponding chapters.

By means of its psychological and esthetic functions folklore distorts the objects described. But it is this very distortion which is of particular importance for the problem considered.⁷³

73. Cf. R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge, 1980), 90-3. The following editions have been used: A. Passow, *Τραγούδια ρωμαϊκά. Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig, 1860); K. Psachys, *Πενήντα δημόδη ᾠσματα Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης* (Athens, 1930); G. Tarsoules, *Μωραϊτικά τραγούδια (Κορώνης καὶ Μεθώνης)* (Athens, 1944); Sp. Peristeres, *Δημοτικά τραγούδια Ἠπείρου καὶ Μωρηᾶ σὲ βυζαντινὴ καὶ εὐρωπαϊκὴ παρασημαντικὴ* (Athens, 1950); D.A. Petropoulos, 'Ἱστορικὰ δημοτικά τραγούδια τῆς Πελοποννήσου', *P* 1 (1956), 163-96; id., 'Ἀκριτικὰ τραγούδια στὴν Πελοπόννησο', *P* 2 (1958), 335-68; id., 'Πελοποννησιακὰ δημοτικά τραγούδια', *PP* 3 (1959), 49-65 and 4 (1960), 85-96 (Σειρὰ 2α, λαογραφία); N. Polites, 'Παραδόσεις τοῦ Μοριᾶ (Λαογραφία)', *PP* 3 (1959), 113-20.

Chapter I

Byzantine Peloponnese in the Twelfth Century

«Ἐτότε γὰρ ὅπου λαλῶ κ' εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον
ὁ τόπος ὅλος τοῦ Μορέως, ὅσος καὶ περιέχει
τὸ λέγουν Πελοπόννησον, οὕτως τὸν ὀνομάζουσι,
οὐδὲν εἶχεν καταπαντοῦ, μόνον δώδεκα κάστροι.»

(Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, στ. 1403 - 1406)

The very founder of historical geography underlined not only the historical place of the Peloponnese as the fortress of Hellas, but also pointed out its geographical situation: it completes the chain of the four peninsulas which comprise Greece and its neighbouring lands. Later, in the Middle Ages, this situation received expression in the name «Κατωτικά», 'the lower land' which stood for the southern end of the Balkans.¹

1. Strabo (8.1.3) styled the Peloponnese to be 'the acropolis of Greece as a whole'. The translation is after H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Massach. etc., 1961), 11. The medieval denomination was connected with the ancient belief that one might descend into the 'lower world', «ὁ Κάτω Κόσμος», from the cape of Tainaron. Cf. Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio*, 3.25 (ed. M. H. Rocha-Pereira [Leipzig, 1973], 1:267); Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina*

Linked to the continent only by the narrow Isthmos of Corinth, surrounded by the Ionian and the Aegean seas, the Peloponnese is in fact almost an island—'the island of Pelops', as opposed to Epiros—'the firm ground'.² Being comprised of peninsulas in its eastern and southern parts, in its inner areas the island itself is broken by mountain massifs in smaller 'islands'.

The mountains, most of them of medium height and with steep slopes, cover the greater part of the territory of the Peloponnese. They resemble a skeleton, its offshoots almost reaching the sea in all directions and oriented from north/northwest to south/southeast. The highest regions are situated at the ends of the axis. The natural nucleus of the whole mountain citadel happens to be the north Arcadian plateau where the open Tripolis plain spreads over 600 m above sea level.³

The only low lands are on the coasts of the peninsula: the region of the Isthmos and the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, the coastal zone to northwest and west from Patras to Pylos, the lowlands of Messenia, Laconia and Argolis, separated by the Taygetos, the Parnon and the central Arcadian massif respectively. Here the basins of the major Peloponnesian rivers are situated, too. The Peneios flows through Elis; the Alpheios—the longest and the deepest river of the peninsula, runs through the valley

Historia, VIII.14 (ed. L. Schopen [Bon, 1829], 1:376, ll. 14-5); Mazaris, *Journey to Hades* (Arethusa Monographs, no. 5 [State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975], p. 8 l. 32 - p. 10 l. 4, p. 62 l. 3, p. 68 l. 32 - p. 70 l. 3).

2. E. A. Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, vol. 1 (London, 1882), 26-7. Medieval sources often denominate it as an island. See Chapter II; Bon, *Morée*, 304.

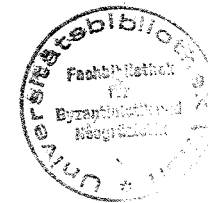
3. On the Peloponnesian mountains, see: L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *Gurcija* (Sofia, 1959), 9, 16; *Géographie universelle Larousse*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1958), 307-8; G.T. Kolias, *Ιστορική γεωγραφία του Έλληνικού χώρου* (Athens, 1948), 321; J. Ancel, *Géographie des frontières* (Paris, 1938), 139; Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1: 12-13, 27 ff.; *Blue Guides: Greece* (London, 1981), 233.

of Olympia; the Pamisos, the Eurotas, and the inconstant Inachos disgorge their waters into the gulfs of Messenia, Laconia and Argolis respectively.⁴

The Peloponnese is not only geographically isolated, but allows an easy access, mostly from the coast. The inner parts, enclosed by mountains and with rivers unsuitable for navigation, are difficult to reach. This peculiarity has determined the character of the road network since ancient times. The sea route along the coasts of the peninsula remained the basic one till the middle of the last century. It has its land counterpart from Corinth via Patras to Kato Akhaia. Thereon it runs through the valley of Elis and the lower reaches of the Alpheios, next along the coastline of the Kyparssian Bay, and then through the Kokla trough it enters the Messenian lowland towards Thouria. The other route, used since ancient times, follows the diagonal trough that unites almost all mountain passes from Parthenion in Arcadia northwest to the Derveni pass in Upper Messenia: it starts from Corinth and passes via Dervenakia towards Argos and Tegea, from which point it branches out into the direction Sparta-Monembasia and Megalopolis-Messene-Thouria. Crosswise this trough in the upper course of the Eurotas, another one is situated, connecting Sparta with Megalopolis, and from there with the valley of Olympia and Elis. The rest of the roads, linking the villages in the inner areas or running from them down to the coast, just a century and a half ago were merely narrow tracks, winding up in the mountains, on which only men set foot, driving their load on mules.⁵

The impression of detachment is stimulated by the Peloponnesian landscape. On the one hand, the mountain-plain, mountain-sea contrast is pronounced and reaches socio-cultural dimensions. Most of the towns and many of the bigger villages are situated

4. *Ibid.*; L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *op. cit.*, 31; Philippson, *op. cit.*, 34 ff.; E. Reklju, *Narody i strany Zapadnoj Evropy*, vol. 9 (Moscow, 1915), 34-5; FAO, II, 2, 17.



along the coast or close to it. Here, as it is in the whole Mediterranean world, the mountain regions are as well the poorest and the penetration of the 'urban civilization of the lowland' is fractional and very slow: in most cases mountain regions are considered places striking terror and fear.⁶ On the other hand, the Peloponnese is the meeting point of sea and land, mountain and plain in the classical Greek pattern. The mountain massifs envelop little 'islandlike' valleys, and the high plains in Central Arcadia unfold in a considerable span. Unlike the greenness and fruitfulness of the coastal plains, the landscape of the inner parts of the peninsula strikes with its harshness: precipitous rocky mountainsides, sharp rugged ridges, bare stony screes.⁷

Small villages clutch at the steep mountainsides, and the fields around them are most often in terraces. Here the upper frontier for agriculture lies at 1500 - 1700 m above sea level, while forests and pastures may spread several hundred metres upwards. The contrast to the plains is marked: they have the typical Mediterranean crops ecology—cereals, citrus, olive and fig trees, vines. Most unfertile are the soils between 600 and 1000 m where only bushes grow.⁸

Though lacking in natural resources and underdeveloped, today the Peloponnese is considered to be the richest Greek land. To what extent that assumption is valid for the Middle Ages, too, it is difficult to say. What has come down to us, are the descriptions in the letters of Cardinal Bessarion to Despot Constantine Palaiologos and to the Minorite monk Jacob Pincens of the forties and fifties of the fifteenth century. According to him the Morea

5. *Ibid.*, 3; J. Ancel, *loc. cit.*; Philippon, *op. cit.*, 30, 38-9.

6. J.K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), 217; F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (London, 1972), 30, 38.

7. *Géographie universelle...*, 307; L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *op. cit.*, 24, 283.

8. *Ibid.*, 32 ff.; F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, 42; FAO, I, 31.

has «γῆν γονιωτάτην, εὐφορωτάτην», but nevertheless the Byzantine imported here iron, silk and woolen articles.⁹ Yet we have no summary data about the conditions there right before the crusaders' conquest. But A. Bon is undoubtedly right pointing out that the mode of life, related only to agriculture, and in some cases to craft industry, did not differ significantly from that of the ancient agricultural communities.¹⁰

The results of the investigations carried out in Western Peloponnese by the middle of our century, confirm the exclusive conservatism in the use of land. The patches are small and scattered on a vast territory. The biggest farms are those that rely predominantly on the traditional semi-nomadic cattle-breeding, but almost half of them are actually natural alpine pasture-lands. Nowadays the Peloponnese still continues to be in the transitory phase from the medieval type of economy with 'archaic agricultural practices' to an economy based on intensive investment and development of market relations.¹¹

Apart from the marked difference between the periphery and the inner areas, there are two other issues no less significant for the examination of the historical phenomenon in question: the dissimilarities between the western and the eastern parts of the peninsula, as well as the characteristics of some differentiated historical and geographical districts on its territory. As a geographical entity West Peloponnese includes the contemporary divisions of Achaea, Arcadia (without the Kynouria eparchy), Elis and Messenia. It is widely open to the sea, while East Peloponnese communicates directly with Sterea by the Isthmos of Corinth. The most fertile plains are situated in the western part of the

9. G.T. Kolias, *op. cit.*, 322; S. Lambros (ed.), 'Υπόμνημα τοῦ καρδινάλιου Βησσαριῶνου εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Παλαιολόγον', NE 3 (1906), 26; Medvedev, *Mistra*, 83.

10. *Peloponnèse*, 154.

11. FAO, III/2, 10, 17, 81; II, 28, 39, 42, 52.

peninsula (in Achaea and Elis)¹² and the longest rivers except the Eurotas also flow there.

The climate of West Peloponnese has its peculiarities, too. Here the sun shines for more than 3000 hours during the year, and the rainfall is the most plentiful. The further you go to the northeast, the drier the climate gets. Some of the driest places in Greece are situated on the coast of the Argolic Gulf.¹³

The richest forests are to be found in the western part of the peninsula, mainly in Arcadia. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Marino Sanudo confidently wrote that the wood necessary for his reverie crusade could be provided from Attica, the Morea and Euboea.¹⁴ Having in mind that in medieval times the forest was considered uninhabited frontier zone, the contrast to the eastern parts becomes even more notable.

Obviously in comparison with most of the Mediterranean regions, West Peloponnese is endowed by nature and has a number of advantages. The landscape attracts the eye with its versatility. Regions of flat or slightly sloping terrain are to be found both on the coast and in the mountain areas, and they are suitable for settled household. One should not forget, however, that both in the western and in the eastern part of the peninsula the difficult-of-access regions prevail and the drought often lasts three months. In the mountain the cold and damp spring weather holds up the growth of vegetation. Consequently even in a relatively favourable environment the aridity and altitude to a large extent have determined the yield over the years, as they do today.¹⁵

12. *Ibid.*, 2, 25, 30; III/2, 9; L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *op. cit.*, 284.

13. *Ibid.*, 26; FAO, II, 1, 10; C. C. Wallén (ed.), *Climates of Central and Southern Europe* (Amsterdam, 1977), 212. Cf. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, p. 24, map 3.

14. In *Liber secretorum Fidelium Crucis super Terrae Sanctae...*, ed. by J. Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos...*, vol. 2 (Hanover, 1611), 68. Cf. J. Ancel, *op. cit.*, 54; L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *op. cit.*, 32, 288.

15. FAO, I, 21; III/2, 9, 81. It is interesting that the investigation of the FAO group led to the conclusion of a certain dropping behind of West Peloponnese

At present the Peloponnese is divided in seven nomes (Corinth, Achaea, Argolis, Elis, Arcadia, Messenia and Laconia), which almost correspond to its divisions in antiquity. In the Middle Ages these 'subregional' boundaries got blurred yet without erasing the historically formed distinctions in the way of living, determined by the environment, and in some cases by the ethnic conservation of old and newly appeared enclaves. The scanty information in the sources before 1204 and from the period of the frangokratia (mainly the *Chronicle of Morea*) give us ground to differentiate the following historical and geographic regions in the Peloponnese in the Middle Ages: 'the plain of Morea', Skorta, 'Klamata', Glisière (Vliziri), the region of Taygetos and the Eurotas valley, Vatika, Tzakonia, 'the plain of Nikli', Dragalevos/Gardalevos, 'the country' of Argos and Damala, and 'Corinth'.¹⁶

In the narrowest sense the designation 'the plain of Morea' refers to the coastal flat zone of Elis with Andravida as its centre, the so called hollow Elis of antiquity. It is cut off from the rest of the peninsula by a hilly chain which, however, is broken by easy-to-control gorges. In a wider sense 'Morea' spreads over the west and northwest coast of the peninsula from Amalias to Patras and even down to Vostitsa (Aiyion). Here the largest plain in all Achaea—the Patras plain, is situated, and its landscape is one of the most beautiful in Greece. The situation of the coast in this region is favourable both for the sea routes from the West, and for the communications with the coasts of Acarnania, Aetolia and Phocis.¹⁷

(as compared to the eastern part and some other regions of Greece) which is explained by the conservatism of the type of farming system.

16. On the rough borderlines of these regions, see Bon, *Morée*, 309, 314-5, 317-8 ('the plain of Morea'); 365, 393 (Skorta); 407-8, 443 ('Kalamata'). Cf. the 'cultural centres' pointed out by Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1:13-4.

17. *Ibid.*, 191, 115 ff., 175 ff.; Bon, *Morée*, 312, 342, 346, 359, 470; *Blue Guide*, 330, 352-3, 358-9; *Livre*, pp. xcix, c, cii; Longnon, *Empire*, 188-90; Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:200.

The oldest data of the Vliziri region are found in the *Chronicle of Morea*. Most probably the name stands for a concrete area, as well as for a wider territory of hilly relief, surrounding the 'plain of Morea' from the south, southeast and northeast (ancient Pisatis). Through it the lower course of the river Alpheios flows. The differentiation of this region is connected with the importance of the longest Peloponnesian river, which became especially marked after the crusaders' conquest.¹⁸

To the south and the east at the Erymanthos river Vliziri borders Skorta. The name of the latter appears in the *Chronicle of Morea*, too, but vanished after the period of the frangokratia. It also had a narrowed meaning: it stands for the territory south of Alpheios as opposed to the lands north of the river, which are called Messarea and reach to the north Arcadian mountains. The region itself is totally mountainous, most markedly in the north with its numerous narrow and tall gorges. The most important of them is between Andritsena and Karytaina: it dominates the route to the valley of the Eurotas.¹⁹ By natural detachment Skorta comes next to Arcadia. Probably during the period examined it was inhabited by a different population, too. The designations «ὁ ζυγός» and «ὁ δρόγγος» as well as the unruly character of the local inhabitants lead to the idea about Slavonic enclaves, that was stated in literature long ago.²⁰

South of Skorta 'Kalamata' is situated, bordering (after 1207) the Venetian territories of Modon and Coron to the south, and the Taygetos to the east. The heart of this region is the Messenian lowland, enveloped by mountains. The low hills at the peak

18. Today the village of Besere is situated west of Amalias. Cf. *Livre*, pp. ci, cv; Longnon, *Empire*, 188; Bon, *Morée*, 315, 330-2, 359; *Libro*, para. 109: 'plano de la Gresera'.

19. Philippson, *op. cit.*, 274 ff., 295 ff.; *Livre*, p. cv; Bon, *Morée*, 363 ff., 400 ff.

20. *Ibid.*, 365; H. J. Krause, *Griechenland im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, in *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste...* (eds. J.S. Ersch and J.B. Gruber [Leipzig, 1966]), 342; Philippson, *op. cit.*, 286, 298).

Vourkano (anc. Ithome) divide it into two. The southern part around the lower course of the Pamisos stands out for its climate—the mildest in Greece. It was not by chance that the crusaders were struck by its abundance.²¹ The upper Messenian lowland (ancient Stenyklaros), too, has a moderate climate. In the *Chronicle of Morea* it is marked as "Val de Calamy" (French version) or 'Lakkos'/'Lakkoi' (Greek version). To the west it communicates easily with the coastal plain of Arkadiá (ancient Kyparissia), and to the northeast by the Makrylagi pass—with the region of Veligosti (ancient Megalopolis). This is the outlet that opens the way to Karytaina to the north, and to the southeast, to Laconia. Although the bay of Navarino was a natural port, the western coast of Messenia does not have the conveniences offered by Modon and Coron for the sea route from the western part of the Mediterranean, towards the Orient.²²

The central one of the three southern Peloponnesian peninsulas is "geographically and politically the acropolis" of the whole island os Pelops.²³ Its 'backbone' is the Taygetos mountain, the steep sides of which unite by the very sea, thus making it almost inaccessible. Here stands the tallest Peloponnesian mountain Profitis Ilias, towering above the plain of Sparta. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Taygetos was passable only through the crosswise cutting Langada gorge between Kalamata and Trype and further to the south through the defile of Milolangado from the bay of Itylo to Karyoupolis or through Skoutari on the beach of the Laconian Gulf. This gorge separates Outer (to the northwest) and Inner (to the south) Mani, while the whole east coast of the peninsula north from Porto Kayo is called Lower Mani.²⁴

21. *Chronikon*, vv. 1739-41.

22. Bon, *Morée*, 419-20, 443-4; *Blue Guide*, 306.

23. K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Princeton, N.J., 1953), 24. N. Kazandzakis (*Journey to the Morea* [New York, 1965], 102) calls it the 'Greek Sinai' of our time.

24. K. Andrews, *op. cit.*, 36; W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Mora*, vol. 1 (London,

It has been known for long that during the Early and the High Middle Ages the western slope of the Taygetos between Kalamata and Itylo was inhabited by the Slavonic tribe of the Melingoi whom the western sources referred to as *esclavoni*. Recently it has been shown that, save for the southern extremity of the peninsula, the Taygetos together with the Mani stood out clearly as a zone of especially numerous Slavonic toponyms.²⁵ Obviously the boundary between the Melingoi and the inhabitants of the Mani could hardly be determined with absolute certainty. All sources from the period examined use the name 'Maïna' (Mani) only for a fortress and the designation 'Maïniatai' was not familiar to them. It is the late Italian version of the *Chronicle of Morea* that distinguishes between "un castello detto Manni" and "il brazo di Marina", and at one point only. But the sources of the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries utterly confirm the presence of the Mainiots as a distinct from the Melingoi ethnic group to the south of Itylo; and this group was Greek.²⁶ Even nature in the two regions of the Taygetos is very different. While to the north the woods and the natural water reservoirs are no rarity, in the Mani the mountainsides and the gorges are bare and dry and every patch of land is fenced with stones to be used for agriculture.

Although the Melingoi have been documented in the Taygetos since the Early Middle Ages, with them, too, the sources after the middle of the thirteenth century (probably because of the expansion of their reach and the change of nature) give evidence for

1830), 261-3. Cf. W. Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea* (London, 1817): Map of the Routes in the Morea. On Taygetos, see: L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *op. cit.*, 16; *Encyclopédie de la montagne* (Quillet-Flammarion ed., 1:1964), 268; Van der Vin, *op. cit.*, 224.

25. J. Koder, 'Zur Frage der slavischen Siedlungsgebiete...', 336 and n. 46 on p. 39 above. Cf. A. Ilieva, 'Franks and Local Population' *EB* 4 (1987), 77.

26. A. Ilieva, *op. cit.*, 77-9. On the information of the Italian version, see: *Cronaca*, 437 and 447 where Brazzo di Marina is confused with the fortress.

a lasting ethnic consolidation. There is hardly another issue of medieval Greek history that has roused greater controversy in science than the 'problem of the Slavs' (including the Melingoi). The literature piled up after the scandalous work of J. Fallmerayer is impressive.²⁷ It is an irrefutable fact that in the Taygetos the Franks met the Melingoi as an ethnic group with age-old traditions and they even tried to take advantage of the nature of their economic activity, i.e. the transhumance²⁸. The big question that still remains unanswered is why after the intensified activity of the Melingoi in the age of the frangokratia the sources from the period of the Turkish rule do not offer any reliable information about their existence.

Some scholars believe that by the beginning of the thirteenth century the Slavonic enclaves in Helos (the valley of the Eurotas at the far end of the Laconian Gulf, a continuation of the flat area around Gytheion and Passavant) had not disappeared yet either, though the sources do not mention the name of the Ezeritai any more.²⁹ The nature of the relief is not in favour of such an assumption, no matter how numerous this Slavonic tribe may

27. I shall enumerate here only some of the major studies of the last decade (on those before, see the already cited above study of M.S. Kordoses): Z. Zaïmov, 'Danni na bulgarskite geografski imena of Južna Gucija za bulgarskij ezik ot VI do IX v.', *Bulgarski ezik* 33/2 (1983), 108-16; A. Avramea, 'Νομισματικοί 'θησαυροί' και μεμονωμένα νομίσματα από την Πελοπόννησο (ΣΤ'-Ζ')', *S* 5 (1983), 49-90; J. Rosser, 'The Role of the Great Isthmus Corridor in the Slavonic Invasions', *BF* IX (1985), 245-54; M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, 'Les Slaves dans l'Empire byzantin', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 345-67; F. Malingoudes, *Σλάβοι στη μεσαιωνική Ελλάδα* (Thessalonica, 1988); G. Huxley, 'Monemvasia and the Slavs'. A Lecture on Some Works of Historical Geography in the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Athens, 1988), 22 p.

28. Id., 'Transhumance on Taygetos in the Chronicle of Morea' (a report that was presented at the Symposium on the mountain — Sofia, 1986; I have used a copy of its typewritten form that the author was so kind as to provide me with).

29. Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 163; id., *Morée*, 315, 526.

have been. It is highly improbable that the Ezeritai might have settled permanently as far as Vatika—between the island of Elaphonysos in the Gulf of Laconia and Cape Malea. As has been pointed out above (p. 68), this is a region with a minimum number of Slavonic toponyms. In any event, the presence of the Byzantines in south Laconia was never supported by sea from the mouth of the Eurotas, which is marshy and shallow. As early as Roman times Cape Malea frightened the sailors, and a Greek proverb tells that he who sailed around it was to forget his fatherland.³⁰ The routes to the Sparta plain start from Monemvasia or Gytheion—the port of Sparta in ancient times, as it is now. Known as Lakedaimon during the Byzantine age, till the middle of the thirteenth century Sparta had always been the centre of Laconia. Situated in a slightly undulated plain, it is encircled by mountains almost completely. The landscape is grandiose: impetuous mountain streams run down deep gorges, and the plain itself is all green.³¹

The northeastern side of the Parnon mountain present, quite a different picture. The slopes seem to rise from the very sea, and the access to the inner part is extremely difficult, since there are no low passes. Even today the land roads here are only secondary and the basic traffic goes by sea. This cheerless land, from the Astros valley to Monemvasia, is the country of the Tzakones and fractionally touches the territory of ancient Kynouria. Science has not yet said its final say on the origin of this strange name—whether it is Greek or Slavonic.³²

30. F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, 109. Cf. Statius (the end of the first century A.D.): “formidatum Malea caput” (after *Blue Guide*, 303).

31. *Ibid.*, 290, 295, 301; L. Melniški - T. Lambrinos, *op. cit.*, 284; *Livre*, p. cv; Longnon, *Empire*, 188; Bon, *Morée*, 500, 516-7.

32. The first hypothesis is much more plausible, though critics have admitted that the explanations proposed till now are not satisfactory, including the voluminous study of St. Karadzas (*Les Tzakones* [Berlin and New York, 1976]). However, there are voices that the possibility of Slavonic influence on the formation

Actually the only flat land along the whole eastern coast of the Peloponnese from Kyveri to Monemvasia lies around Astros. It is also the starting point of the narrow road inside towards Arachova, that passes by the contemporary village of Dragalevos. It is probably connected with the area mentioned in the sources by the same name which might have spread as far as Vatika and Helos.³³

To the north the Astros plain gives way to the lowest parts of Arcadia, and after them from the Achladokambos plateau start the mountains bordering Argolis. Since ancient times this has been one of the major crossroads of the Peloponnese. Northwest of Astros spreads the east Arkadian plateau, in the centre of which the plain of Nikli is situated. It is a widely open basin, consisting of two smaller flat areas, of Mantinea to the north and of Tegea to the south.³⁴ Unlike the fertile Astros plain, this territory in its most part is covered by scanty alpine vegetation. Sometimes in the summer months luxuriant meadows may grow in well-sheltered places. The French version of the *Chronicle of Morea* remarks about the area around Nikli that it was ‘large et aysie pour les beles prayeries qui la sunt’.³⁵ What is more, it is crossed by important roads: to the Veligosti plain to the southwest, by the Mainalon mountain towards the Elis or Patras, through Achladokambos to Argos. The hills rising to the southwest offer the easiest access to the Argolic plain from Arcadia.

The plain is the centre of Argolis, which includes also the mountains bordering Arcadia and the peninsula jutting out between

of the name should not be entirely excluded. Cf. Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 136 ff.

33. The name of Dragalevos/Gardalevos is a Slavonic one. Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 499-500, 515.

34. Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1:235, 243, 245, 252 ff., 296; *Blue Guide*, 288. Cf. W. M. Leake, *Travels...*, vol. 3, 45.

35. *Livre*, para. 237. On its climate and vegetation, see I. Mariolopoulos, ‘Τὸ κλίμα τῆς Πελοποννήσου’, *PP* 8 (1964) 77 f.; Bon, *Morée*, 522; Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1:249.

the bays of Nauplion and Aegina, Akte as it was called in antiquity. The port of Nauplion is the safest in Argolis. Near the sea the plain is marshy but its inner part is covered with fertile soils. The rest of Argolis is mainly rocky with very dry climate saved for some small coast and inland regions as, for example, the Troizen plain where Damala is situated. During the period examined it communicated with Nauplion and Argos only by sea which confirms the overall impression since antiquity that Argolis had no natural centre of road network and cultural activity.³⁶

There remains one last Peloponnesian territory which did not represent an established historicogeographical unit in the High Middle Ages but was called 'Corinth' after the Frankish castellany that included a great part of the region. These are the lands from Vostitsa to cape Trachyli along the coast of the Gulf of Corinth and the bay of Aegina and from Kalavryta to the Dervenakia pass in the interior. How much the openness of the scenery to the northeast, east and southeast helped the blurring of ancient subregional boundaries can be seen from the fact that the castellany of Corinth included the lands south from the Nauplion - Ligourio line.³⁷

All this territory is subjected to the already mentioned regularities where fertile coastal plains touch on mountain massifs in the interior. The location of the Corinth plain is a bit more peculiar because it is crossed by the narrow and short Isthmos. It offers control over the Megara gorge and is the only land route connecting the Peloponnese with continental Greece. The Isthmos is also a crossing point of the sea routes: the ports of Corinth on both of its sides continue to function.³⁸ To the south and southeast the plain of Corinth goes down to the hilly region of

Chiliomodion. Here the road branches off to the Hagionori pass for Argolis. While in the valley between the hills of Oneion and mount Sikyone there are still forests here and there, further up the landscape becomes unpleasant mainly due to the dry climate. The north Arcadian mountains rise to the west already offering other geographical conditions.³⁹

The review made shows that in the anthropogeographical sense the Peloponnese does not represent an entity with a natural interior centre for favourable demographic and cultural development. It has a purely 'decentralized' structure — a high plateau in the middle around which the different geographical regions are situated. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the peculiarities of geographical decentralization had already been reinforced by historical specificities. At the same time it is obvious that Ellis possesses the best opportunities for progress. Decentralization, yet a possibility for unification — in that respect the Peloponnese is endowed with the typical Greek anthropogeographical conditions.⁴⁰ A natural question to ask is whether the Byzantines, and even the Westerners, had any common impression or rather concrete knowledge of this territory.

By its structure and relief, climate and flora, population and culture the Peloponnese is indeed the most typical expression of the characteristics of Greece. And although Greece together with Asia Minor comprised the 'geographical heart' of Byzantium⁴¹, its remoteness from the centre and from the most attacked boundaries of the Empire explains the weak interest towards it in the Byzantine sources. Even in 1321, when Andronikos II appointed the Grand Domestic John Kantakouzenos as governor of Mistra, the latter took that for a removal sending him to the godforsaken

36. *Ibid.*, 93, 118, 134, 145; *Livre*, p. cviii; *Blue Guide*, 254, 256; Bon, *Morée*, 486, 490.

37. *Ibid.*, 496-6; Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1:170.

38. Bon, *Morée*, 473, 477.

39. *Blue Guide*, 254, 256, 349; Philippson, *Landschaften*, 1:71, 75, 79, 80, 89-90.

40. *Ibid.*, 14.

41. *Ibid.*, 10; A. P. Kazhdan - G. Constable, *People and Power...*, 142 (see n. 57 on p. above).

places of the 'Roman land'.⁴² It was not until Mistra became the centre of the Morea as well as of the decaying empire that Plethon would prepare *Διαγραφή ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου, παραλίου τε καὶ μεσογείου* although extracted from Ptolemy.⁴³

This, of course, has to do with the common regularities in the development of geography not only in Byzantium. Till the end of the fifteenth century on the maps reflecting the Peloponnese were to be found mostly designations from classical antiquity (e.g. Achaea) or connected with the activity of apostles and saints. But medieval cartographers were no exception. For a long time the island of Pelops had lain away from the major routes of the Mediterranean region, though as early as the tenth century portolans had already come into existence, describing the route around Cape Malea — from Monemvasia to Methone, Cephalonia and Otranto. Even after the fall of Bari in 1071 when the Peloponnese remained the most western territory of the Empire, jutting out into the Mediterranean, the Ionian sea reaching the Lybian desert continued to be a zone of division between the East and the West.⁴⁴

The intensification of the contacts between the two parts of the Mediterranean after 1100 was due mainly to the growth of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which later became an annual event. The pilgrims, who in most cases travelled only or mainly by sea, did not turn away from the standard courses. One of them passed along the Adriatic coast to the Gulf of Corinth and from there

42. *Ibid.*, 149; Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 153; Medvedev, *Mistra*, 25-6. "The Byzantines had no antiquarian or archaeological interest in Greece as a country." - D.M. Nicol, 'Byzantium and Greece', in *id.*, *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography* (VRL, 1986), no. XV, 3.

43. PG 160: 777-778, n. (k); C. M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford, 1986), p. xvi, 19, 181.

44. F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, 133; G. Huxley, 'Topics in Byzantine Historical Geography', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 82/4 (1982), 106.

continued across continental Greece or again by sea.⁴⁵ The second skirted the west Peloponnesian coasts, crossed the strait between Cape Malea and the island of Kythera and passing by the islands in the Aegean sea ran to Syria and Palestine. Travelling along this route it was often necessary to stop for a short stay at either Patras, Methone, or Korone. Though full of many dangers, mainly because of the piratical attacks around capes Matapan and Malea, its enlivenment, especially after 1204, brought about an increase in the importance of these stops.⁴⁶ It was this route that the Venetian fleet followed when it transported the crusaders in the summer of 1203. Sometimes Monemvasia also served as a stop on the way around the Peloponnese. Around 722-723 the Egyptian ship on which the Anglo-Saxon Willibald was sailing from Sicily to Palestine stopped here, too, and in 1147 the town was unsuccessfully attacked by the Normans after the conquest of Corfu. 'Malvesie mons magnus' is mentioned in the description by Benedict of Peterborough who passed by the Peloponnesian coast on his way back from the Orient in 1191.⁴⁷

None of the accounts by Western travellers or pilgrims that have been preserved till present day contains any mention about penetrating the interior of the peninsula. The first course, from Corfu via Cephalonia, Patras and Corinth was used in 1102 by the Anglo-Saxon Saewulf on his way to Jerusalem, but the Peloponnesian towns interested him only in connection with biblical history: Another description of Patras and Corinth was produced by the Spanish Jew Benjamin of Tudela (in Navarre).

45. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:18, 63-4, 185.

46. *Ibid.*, 219; F. Braudel, *op. cit.*, 104; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre. La politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance au VIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 106, 309 n. 5. At the same time western sources designate the Peloponnese as the 'island of Modon'. Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 304 nn. 2-3.

47. *Id.*, *Péloponnèse*, 155; H. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, 242; Van der Vin, *op. cit.*, 15, 223; 2:484.

In 1161, travelling by the same route, he visited the Jewish communities in them.⁴⁸

As far as the so called *Geography* by al-Edrisi is concerned, which was made up for the Sicilian king Roger II in the middle of the twelfth century, it was hardly built on personal impressions exclusively and contains place names difficult to identify. Though this work devotes greater attention to the peninsula as a whole, the Arab geographer described, along with the seaside mentioned above, only Sparta, and probably from literary sources.⁴⁹

Of all the stops on the way to Jerusalem the pilgrims knew best Methone/Modon and Korone/Coron. This was due mainly to the fact that the ships' crews preferred ports with a Latin population. A matter of certain interest for them was also the grave of St. Leo in Modon. What prevails in the description of the two towns, however, is their mere indication as the first (and often the only) places visited on Greek land.⁵⁰ This leads to the conclusion that up to 1204 the Peloponnese was a remote and little known country not only to the Byzantines. The West also did not possess any detailed and trustworthy information about the peninsula. In the winter of 1204-1205 the crusaders practically found themselves in a completely unfamiliar geographical and historical environment.⁵¹ To what an extent they managed to

48. *Ibid.*, 510, 527-8; 1:24; Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 156-8.

49. *Ibid.*; Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:152, 211; 2: 523-4; M.S. Kordoses, 'Η περιγραφή τῆς νοτιοανατολικῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀραβὰ περιηγητὴ Edrisi', in *Praktika II/2*, 261-9.

50. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:220, 223. On St. Leo, see: E. Follieri, 'Mémoires et documents. Santi di Metone: Atanasio vescovo, Leone taumaturgo', *B 41* (1971), 378-451.

51. Cf. Ch. A. Maltezos, 'L'immagine della provincia bizantina presso gli Occidentali dopo il 1204', *RSBS IV* (1984), 207-8. Here I do not examine the role that the Italian merchants had in the spread of information on the Peloponnese. The geography of their commercial activity was connected with almost the same centres — Corinth, Sparta, Methone, Korone, Argos, Nauplion, Kalavryta and

find their way and to adapt themselves is a matter of essential importance in the problem being investigated.

The geographical isolation and the relief of the Peloponnese presupposed the development of settlements mainly on the periphery, while in the interior it was broken into small territories geographically isolated by mountains and with no easy communication among them. The twelfth-century socio-cultural development of the peninsula confirms these observations on another level.

What was the administrative and church organization of this distant and unpopular province in the century before the crusaders' conquest? These lands were never attributed a great military significance by Constantinople. Both civil and church officials never received happily an appointment to the peninsula, though it satisfied its needs by itself. The reforms of Alexios I Komnenos granted the management of all naval subdivisions of the Empire to the *megas cux*. He appointed commanders, subjected to him, to control the more significant units. At the same time the theme of Hellas and Peloponnesos was governed by a civil official, the *praetor*, who was appointed by Constantinople. He was often called *krites* because they chose him among the judges. The governors had a three-year mandate. J. Herrin notes that most of the thirteenth-century theme governors came from prominent Byzantine families.⁵²

The *praetor* had important commissions: to control the collection of all taxes, the legal proceedings, the local economy, and the provincial defence. His headquarters were in Thebes. The twelfth century provincial officials' major function was to ensure the tax revenue. Some of the civil servants, as for example the

Patras. Before the Fourth Crusade western merchants as a whole used to avoid penetrating into Greek inner lands. Cf. J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore...*, 318; M. Hendy, *Studies*, 601. On the scope of this activity, see below.

52. J. Herrin, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas and Peloponnesos (1180-1205)', *DOP 29* (1975), 256-7, 267.

anagrapheus, were also appointed directly from the capital for three years. Others were probably recruited in the province itself.

The theme of Hellas and Peloponnesos was bound to Constantinople mostly by naval obligations and hence the collection of the fleet tax was carried out by a special staff of clerks. The fleet consisted of sailors, registered in the naval catalogues. After the rule of Alexios I every significant port in the theme was supplied with local naval units which patrolled the shore and ensured its defence. These ports were the centre of the smaller administrative divisions of the theme, the *horia*, and exercised tax and administrative control over them. In the thirteenth-century sources the latter are mentioned only in connection with the theme group 'Hellas - Peloponnesos - Thessaly' and bear the names of the respective town centre/centres. The *horion* was governed by a *katepanos*, a *dux*, or an *archon*, appointed from the capital. On the basis of the data from the end of the century most scholars assume that there were five *horia* in Greece — Larissa, Thebes-Euripos, Athens, Patras-Methone, Corinth/Argos-Nauplion. According to A. Bon, there existed even a third administrative subdivision of the Peloponnese which included Arcadia, from Achaea (with Kalavryta) to the Gulf of Laconia.⁵³

53. Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 101. There exist some minor controversies concerning the territory of the different *horia*, especially in the Peloponnese. According to J. Herrin (op. cit., 279-80) on the eastern coast there was only one *horion*: Corinth/Argos - Nauplion. On the same view, see: Kordoses, *Conquest*, 61; *TIB*, 1 (Koder), 67; N. Oikonomidès, 'La décomposition de l'Empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l'empire de Nicée: à propos de la "Partitio Romaniae"', XVe CIEB, I/1 (Athens, 1976), 17; M. Šesan, 'Les thèmes byzantines à l'époque des Comnènes et des Anges (1081-1204)', *RESEE* 16/1 (1978), 53; A.G.K. Savvides, 'Η Εύβοια κατά τὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΒ' - ἀρχὲς τοῦ ΙΓ' αἰ. μ.Χ.', *Ἀρχεῖον Εὐβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν* 24 (1981/2), 316: "orion Corinthii, Argus, Nauplii" in the Privilegium to Venice, 1198. According to H. Ahrweiler, however (*Byzance et la mer*, 59 n. 2, 277), Corinth was separated from Argos-Nauplion. Cf. A. Ilieva, 'Η Πάτρα κατά τὸ πρῶτο ἡμισυ τοῦ ΙΓ' αἰ.', in *Συμπόσιον Πνευματικὸν ἐπὶ χρυσῷ ἰωβηλαίῳ ἱερωσύνης τοῦ μητροπολίτου Πατρῶν Νικοδήμου, 1939-*

Treating the military and the administrative organization of the theme, the French scholar poses again the question that has been known since the time of W. Miller: were the Peloponnesians warlike or not? The answer to this question, according to some authors, almost predetermined the fate of the Peloponnese during the Frankish invasion, if the bellicosity of the Slavs on Taygetos and the military service of the Tzakones are not taken into consideration. Most scholars believe that the inhabitants of the Peloponnese were not characterized by a belligerent spirit and, indeed, it is a proven fact that in the twelfth century, after the rule of the Komnenoi, the provincial military authorities, as by the way the civil ones, ceased to fulfil their functions. The crusaders were not confronted by either provincial militia or by any naval force under the command of the theme governor.⁵⁴ Evidently the military discipline in the thematical naval unit was not at the necessary level. It is another question, however, whether indifference and rejection of war had been a part of the Peloponnesian outlook on life since antiquity. Did they really justify the definition of the Greeks, given them by the Romans, and established later in medieval times, that the inhabitants of Hellas had no military virtues? The only source that confirms the positive answer to this question is the well-known passage in the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitos on the behaviour of the Peloponnesian population at the beginning of the twenties of the tenth century. Then, instead of supporting with military forces the expedition of the *strategos* John Proteuon to Italy, this population preferred to give its financial aid. Recently, drawing on a careful analysis of the whole passage and its context, St. Karadzas stated a supposition that the lack of belligerence was not a stable feature in Peloponnesian character but merely a concrete behaviour in connection with

1989 (Athens, 1989), 530-1. As for the *horion* Patras-Methone, see: Ibid.; Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 17.

54. J. Herrin, op. cit., 254, 270.

the upheaval of the Slavonic population on the peninsula.⁵⁵ This supposition deserves attention, but even if we stick to the old treatment of the passage, the behaviour of the Moreots during the Frankish invasion, in our view, reveals best this side of their character: every region of the peninsula had its own traditions and in many respects the 'belligerence' depended on the geographical environment and the fortification system.

By the end of the twelfth century the most stable organization proved to be the Church. After the new edition of the *Notitiae episcoporum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* by J. Darrouzès, many of our old ideas, especially on the dating of the different *Notitiae* and about the ecclesiastical organization of the Byzantine church have to be revised. Yet it is evident that in the twelfth century Corinth continued to be the leading centre of the peninsula (ranked 27th), followed by Patras (ranked 32nd). In *Notitia* no. 12 (with references to the rule of Manuel I Komnenos and Isaak II Angelos) they are followed by Christianoupolis (ranked 76th, lacking separate episcopates), Lakedaimonia (ranked 79th, again without eparchies), and the metropolitan see of Argos created in 1189 (ranked 91st, no differentiated episcopates).⁵⁶ According to *Notitiae* nos. 9 and 13 the metropolitan see of Corinth ruled over the bishoprics of Damala, Argos, Monemvasia, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Zemainia, Maïna and Kythera; Kythera is not present in *Notitia* no. 10. So far as Patras is concerned, the *Notitiae* in the same order give as its suffragans Lakedaimonia, Methone, Korone, Helos, Bolaina (as in no. 10), and respectively

55. St. Karadzas, 'Ἦταν φιλοπόλεμοι ἢ ἀπόλεμοι οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι', *Ἐπιστ. Ἐπετ. Φιλολ. Σχ. Πανεπ. Θεσσ.* 17 (1978), 125 f. The passage of Porphyrogenitos: *De adm. imperio*, 51 (ed. G. Moravcsik: p. 256, l. 19).

56. *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1981), 349-50. On the dating of the *Notitia* (12th c.), see: *ibid.*, 130. On the establishment of the metropolitan see of Lakedaimonia, see: *ibid.*, 325 n. 493. Cf. V. Laurent, 'La date de l'érection des métropoles de Patras et de Lacédémon', *REB* XXI (1963), 139.

Lakedaimonia, Amykleion, Methone, Korone, Helos, Bolaina, Moraia and Kernitsa.⁵⁷

J. Herrin points out that this stability was due to the lasting continuity in the metropolitan administration, since the archbishops were elected to their sees for life. They also had their staff of clerks — the church archons. The detachment of the Peloponnese is apparent in that sphere, too: there is no evidence about any direct connections between Corinth and Athens, despite their immediate closeness even in the church hierarchy (Athens ranked 28th).⁵⁸

The growing alienation and the weakening of the links with Constantinople were not to be overcome even with the first appearance in the twelfth century of an economic basis for relations between the centre and the provinces of the Empire. Byzantium, and mainly its capital, could not, however, resist the challenge of such economic relations and a developed provincial economy. At the end of the century the post of the *megas dux* and his institution in Constantinople already had only financial functions, which led to an extreme fiscalization of the administrative apparatus.

Certain light on the relation between the capital and the theme of Hellas and Peloponnesos is thrown by the establishment there (in the late eleventh century) of a branch of the Constantinople mint. Indeed, the extraordinary increase in the number of the coins from the time of John II and Manuel Komnenos found

57. On Corinth, see: *ibid.*, 302 ll. 371-9 (no. 9), 361 ll. 436-45 (no. 13), 323 ll. 431-8 (no. 10). On Patras: 303 ll. 410-5 (no. 9), 362 ll. 533-42 (no. 13 - ranked 33rd), 325-6 ll. 492-7 (no. 10). On the historical context and the possibility of dating these *Notitiae*, see: *ibid.*, 93 (no. 9: 12th-13th c.), 140-1 (no. 13: 12th c.), 116 (no. 10: "faut-il encore parler de datation?"). Cf. V. Laurent, 'L'évêché de Morée (Moréas) au Péloponnèse', *REB* XX (1962), 183, 188; G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, vol. 1, *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus* (Padua, 1988), p. xi.

58. J. Herrin, *op. cit.*, 258-60.

at the excavations in Corinth points to the presence of a provincial mint house nearby, moreover that the coins in question are copper half-tetartera of a rough make. Since these coins are mostly found in Athens, it is possible that this mint might have been in Thebes (or in Athens itself?). The traces from it disappeared during the rule of the Angeloi, but the excavations in Corinth even over the last decade have been introducing new specimens into scholarly turnover.⁵⁹

The other polarization of the Byzantine twelfth century — between the town and the village — also did not lead to the establishment of balanced relations. It did not succeed in gaining a clear expression even in the Peloponnes, which inherited from the beginning of the Early Middle Ages a more peculiar type of town structures. Among all Byzantine territories it was characterized by the greatest demographic mobility of the so called 'transurbanization' type: survival of the antique towns, but with a smaller or greater change in their location, and a possible preservation of the antique name. The most simple variant of 'transurbanization' here was the abandonment of the flat places and the low hills for a position on the top of the nearest rising ground: Corinth-Akrocorinth, Kyparissia-Arkadiá. Results of this process were almost all *kastra* mentioned in the *Chronicle of Morea*: Patras, Argos, Nauplion, Monemvasia, Lakedaimon, Kalamata, Nikli, Korone, etc. The qualitative changes took place in the seventh — ninth centuries,

59. Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 53; D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355* (Thessaloniki, 1965), 88, 109; M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261* (Washington, 1969), 93, 98-100, 146, 334; id., *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe, 820-1396* (London, 1979: Royal Numismatic Society Special Publications, No. 11), 104 ff.; id., *Studies*, 435, 437. Here I shall refer only to the most recent publications of the coins found at Corinth: O. H. Zervos, 'Corinth, 1986: Temple and East of the Theater. Appendix: Coins', *Hesperia* 56/1 (1987): 33-46; id., 'Corinth, 1987: South of the Temple and East of the Theater. Appendix: Coins', *Hesperia* 57/2 (1988): 95-146; id., 'Corinth, 1988: East of the Theater. Appendix: Coins' *Hesperia* 58/1 (1989): 37-50.

when the Byzantine town fortress was formed: it was to be typical of the further town history of the Empire and began to reflect the new correlation of social forces. Tearing off the population from the old environment presupposed a considerably weaker conservatism of the town community as compared to the one which preserved *stabilitas loci*.⁶⁰

Ch. Bouras, a recent investigator of the Byzantine town, devotes special attention to the period in question, which he includes in a larger chronological span, 1071 - 1204: revival and growth of Greek towns, appearance of suburbs and whole villages in their nearest neighbourhood. In my view, however, the more solid arguments are in the hands of those scholars who close the period at the end of Manuel II's rule.⁶¹

The studies of the terminology of the names of Early Medieval Byzantine towns suggest that by the wide use of *kastron* the Byzantines expressed their understanding of the town mainly as a fortress, as a safe shelter. M. Angold specifies that in this case the exact correspondent is 'town', while the Byzantine 'city' was an urban formation that had passed from Antiquity in the Middle Ages.⁶² Naturally, walls do not make a town; what is necessary is a combination of economic and administrative functions. We must note

60. I. P. Medvedev, 'Fenomen transurbanizacii i ego rol' v stanovlenii feodal'nogo vizantijskogo goroda', *Antičnaja drevnost' i Srednie veka* 6 (1969), 80-5. Cf. M. S. Kordoses, 'Οικιστικὲς φάσεις τοῦ Ἀγιονορίου', *Ιστορικογεωγραφικά* 2 (1988), 268.

61. Ch. Bouras, 'City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture', *JÖB* 31/2 (1981), 616; A.P. Kazhdan, 'Centrostremitel'nye i centrobežnye sily v vizantijskom mire (1081-1261 gg.)', *XVe CIEB*, 1/1 (Athens, 1976), 19.

62. Angold, 'Shaping', 15-6; id. 'Archons', 238-9. On the typology of Greek towns in a later age — during the rule of the Palaiologoi, see: V. Hrochová, *Byzantská města ve 13. - 15. století* (Prague, 1967), 96-7. Cf. P. Charanis, 'Town and Country in the Byzantine Possessions of the Balkan Peninsula During the Later Period of the Empire', in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change*, ed. H. Birnbaum and Sp. Vryonis (Paris, 1972), 117-37.

however, that in the Peloponnese the outer town (*chora*, *emporion*) was often fortified, too. Such was the case of Corinth and Patras. In the latter this outer wall was built of unprocessed bricks, leaving on the outside a section of the *chora*, which included the Jewish quarter.⁶³ An interesting variety was Kalamata: its fortress according to the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* was «ἄχαμνόν, ὡς μοναστήρι τὸ εἶχαν» (v. 1711). The identity of fortress and monastery was not unusual in the age of the Komnenoi, and it is probable that this held true of the fortress in the Hagionori pass in Argolis.

The combination of agriculture, of trade in agricultural products and of other kinds of economic activities was characteristic of the small Greek towns and the boundary between them and fortified villages was not clearly marked. Although the early Christian tradition of the house-estate was broken up in the small agrarian towns of Greece, Bouras' studies show that in them there were vast places for the warehouses where agricultural product was kept. Considerable plots were also allotted to the local town market. The relatively limited scope of crafts can be judged by the small size of the workshops adjoining craftsmen's houses. The excavation of a mixed residential-craft sector in Corinth revealed narrow streets and small houses with rooms facing a central atrium. The structures do not look very stable and often point to a secondary usage of building materials.⁶⁴

We have data about concrete quarters in some Greek towns. As for the Peloponnese, some more recent information (of the

63. H. Saranti-Mendelovici, 'À propos de la ville de Patras au 13e-15e siècles', *REB* 38 (1980), 213, 227-9; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 77 n. 6, 87 n. 15.

64. Ch. Bouras, 'Houses and Settlements in Byzantine Greece', in *Shelter in Greece*, ed. D.B. Doumanis and P. Oliver (Athens, 1974), 32, 34; A. Avraméa - M. Kyrkou, 'Inventaire topographique de Corinthe et sa région à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine', in *Géographie historique du monde Méditerranéen* (Paris, 1988), 31-45.

fourteenth century) tells about the St. Anastasia quarter in Patras.⁶⁵

The fortress which usually was the residence of the town governor, towered over the town, and down the hill ran small winding alleys. The overall impression is of a lack of space, which may be accounted for with some more general necessity for security and closeness. Usually the governor was absent from the town, but the local archons lived permanently in the upper town and most often in the fortress. They concentrated their estates not only in separate quarters, but even around special yards (*aules*).⁶⁶

Who were these archons? By that time the evolution of the term *archon* may be traced back to the reign of Justinian I through the military treaties of the ninth and tenth centuries and the archival and narrative sources of the next one.⁶⁷ Kekaumenos, writing in the seventies of the eleventh century, taught that 'all the people are children of a single man — Adam: both Emperors and archons, and those scraping for a living'; one should serve the archon as one serves the basileus and the God. There are 'thematic archons', 'fleet archons' («πλευστικοὶ ἄρχοντες»); the 'thematic archons' differ from those who hold neither a rank from God, nor an office from the Emperor but «οἱ ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἰδιάζοντες».⁶⁸ At the

65. K.N. Triantaphyllou, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν* (Patras, 1959), 16.

66. Angold, 'Archons', 240, 241.

67. É. Patlagean, '“Economie paysanne” et “féodalité byzantine”', *AESC* 30/6 (1975), 1391. A part of what follows has been included in my article 'The Phenomenon Leo Sgouros', *EB* 26/3 (1990), 31-51.

68. *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena. Sočinenie vizantijskogo polkovodca XI veka*, ed. by G.G. Litavrin (Moscow, 1972), 286, ll. 12-3 (according to G. Litavrin [p. 605 n. 1213] by «οἱ ἄρτον ζητοῦντες» the working people are concerned); 124, ll. 28-9; 238, l. 3; 292, l. 20, l. 22 - 292 l. 28; 294, l. 9, ll. 12-3, ll. 19-20, l. 24, l. 29 (G. Litavrin translates «πλευστικοὶ» as 'ship' and thinks [p. 620 n. 1263, p. 628 n. 1282] that Kekaumenos' archons here were the military fleet commanders and the fleet officials, including the middle and the inferior commanders of the imperial fleet); 238, l. 1. On parallels (Skylitzes, Symeon the New Theologian) and commentary, see: Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 247-8.

same time the archons could be not only official functionaries but local landowners as well who in the words of Theophylact, the archbishop of Ochrid, were not clerks at all.⁶⁹

The authors of the late twelfth century, familiar with the life in the Western provinces as were Kekaumenos and Theophylact, pick out again the provincial archons: the latter were local landowners but played an important part in administration as well — «θεματικοὶ καὶ κτηματικοὶ ἄρχοντες».⁷⁰ In practice local administration depended on their co-operation with the Emperor's deputy and the archbishop; that was one of the reasons for their influence. Though holding the middle and the lower ranks their position was not given a definite institutional form. The archons, however, controlled and regulated everyday life, and that was the unofficial base for the growth in town autonomy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some archons even developed in their own interest a network of private personal bonds. Sometimes their behaviour aroused the protest of the archbishop (for example the famous case of Micahel Choniates and the Athenian archons); but usually the members of the bishop's administration came from the same families as did the archons of the town.⁷¹

69. *Ibid.*, 250; cf. *Sovety i rasskazy...*, 339 n. 62. It is moreover well-known that by tradition foreign rulers and leaders of other ethnic groups settled in the Empire were also styled as 'archons'. Cf. Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 4.

70. Akominatos, 2: 277, ll. 1-8 («ἀρχων θεματικὸς Χαλκούτζης»); 278, ll. 9-15, 278 l. 28-279 l. 1; 279 l. 25-280 l. 14; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 29, 31 ('Chalkoutzes was a great landowner and official'); Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 35 n. 14 (Chalkoutzes as a rich and powerful archon). Cf. generally *id.*, 'Archontes', 427-8, 465. In contrast to D. Jacoby, M. Angold ('Archons', 238) puts stress on the unity of the two denominations.

71. *Ibid.*, 237, 249; *id.*, *Government*, 268-9; *id.*, 'Shaping', 16-7, 19; *id.*, *Empire*, 248; Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 4, 26, 27, 29. One should also bear in mind the practice of Nicaea, heir apparent of Byzantium from the very beginning of the thirteenth century: among the archons of Smyrna ca. 1225 Constantine Phagomodes was responsible for the assessment of the *ploimoi* in the *katepanikion* while the *vestiarites* Isaak Levounes headed the commission that levied the same tax. - Angold,

At the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century when the Angeloi took into consideration the realities of the local government, one may notice that the boundaries between this provincial administrative aristocracy and the court elite were dying out. The process was marked by the former's appropriation of the title of *sebastos*, the bearers of which according to A. Kazhdan formed the second order of the Byzantine aristocracy during the reign of the Angeloi. These 'provincial owners (and officials?)' appear in his investigation as coming evenly from both military and 'civil' aristocratic families, while the provincial *sebastoi* figure out at approximately one fifth of the total number of the families holding the title. A. Kazhdan is right to hesitate when binding them to the state machine since the sources do not always mention *sebastoi* and archons together. He sees the provincial *sebastoi* as a sort of magnates.⁷²

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the ruling class in the provinces included not only the representatives of the imperial aristocratic families, the archons and the *sebastoi* (probably on the borderline between the two first at the end of the twelfth century). Here also came the provincial owners, mainly in the towns, who were neither officials nor commanders. The sources do not define more precisely their position.⁷³

Government, 268. On the *ploimoi*, see: *ibid.*, 225 (for Nicaea); G. Stadtmüller, *Michel Choniates, Metropolit von Athen: ca. 1138 - ca. 1222* (Rome, 1934), 291 (in general).

72. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 114, 168-9, 265; *id.*, 'Centrostremitel'nye i centrobežnye sily...', 23. Among the cases of binding, attention should be paid to the *sebastoi* Chalkoutzes and Theophylact Brachniotes, *kastrophylax* of Smyrna in the thirties of the thirteenth century. — Angold, *Government*, 267. The English scholar proves (*ibid.*, 68 f.) that in Nicaea the archons differed from the great aristocratic families who held the highest titles in court hierarchy, the so called *megistanes* or 'chief magistrates'.

73. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 166-7: here he also ranks Theodore Mankaphas who in 1189-90 headed the rebellion in Philadelphia, and in 1195-6 — in western Anatolia. Cf. recently Savvides, 'Strife', 271. A. Kazhdan (*op. cit.*, 251-2) seems to identify

In connection with the problem under consideration special attention should be paid to the 'dynasts' coming to light in the same period. While during the eleventh century the Byzantine authors had marked in this way the commanders of the army, the next century showed them, according to M. Angold, as local masters of the towns. They proved to be 'politicians' settling the contradictions in the town and protecting it against the imperial administration. Thus the 'dynasts' had only unofficial authority, and in contrast to the archons, who held the power in peace-time, they came to the fore during periods of crisis. At the end of the twelfth century they controlled all the Byzantine cities though having no legal basis.⁷⁴

About 1204 large landed estates in the Peloponnese were in possession of the Kantakouzenos, the Doukas and the Branas families belonging at that time to the highest order of Byzantine aristocracy. The Church of Constantinople was also among the greatest landowners in the peninsula.⁷⁵ However, of no less importance was the economic and social base of the Moreot archons. At present this is one of the most discussed problems because it is related to the long controversies over the pronioia fed by the evidence in the *Chronicle of Morea*.

What is definitely proved now is the fact that the archons possess-

the archons with the 'middle-class landowners and the provincial administrators coming from their circles' who, in his view, were not included in the models of social stratification made by the Byzantine authors. Cf. however G. L. Kurbatov, *Istoria Vizantii* (Moscow, 1984), 159 and especially Jacoby ('Byzantium', 3, 11) who thinks that the social elite in the Byzantine provinces included rich landlords, imperial officials (administrative and military) and imperial dignitaries 'all known as archontes'. But some pages further (*ibid.*, 26) he enumerates the local archons owning large estates as different from the members of the imperial and other prominent families. For more details, see below.

74. Angold, 'Archons', 241-2, 243-4; *id.*, 'Shaping', 201-2.

75. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 114, 116, 171, 197, 206-7, 251; M. Hendy, *Studies*, 89 and map 14. Before 1204 the Melissenoi could also have been great landowners (in Messenia) if we judge by their relationship to the Xeroi.

ed most of the land in the town neighbourhood and obviously gained from the establishment of the Venetians in the towns.⁷⁶ Not a single source from before 1204, however, makes any mention of the pronioia in the Peloponnese. Of course, the implications following are not that this institution was completely unknown in the Empire during the reign of the Komnenoi and the Angeloi. But it is true that till the beginning of the thirteenth century the pronioia, turning into a type of conditional property, did not yet have hereditary character — the rights were granted for life or for two generations at the most.⁷⁷

The reign of Manuel I Komnenos was of decisive importance for the evolution of the pronioia; then, according to Niketas Choniates, the pronioias were recruited from all strata of the Byzantine society.⁷⁸ Manuel's well-known decree of 1158 that enjoined from ceding the Emperor's land grants to persons other than the senators and the *stratiotai*, was concerned, in all probability, namely with the pronioia. According to A. Kazhdan it consolidated the existence of a 'prolonged class property of feudal nature'.⁷⁹ The silence of the sources prevents from solving the problem about the distribution of the pronioia in all the Byzantine provinces towards the end of the twelfth century. The evolution of the pronioia in Epiros and Nicaea (especially in the area of Smyrna) after 1204 should have a measure of continuity with the process in

76. Angold, *Empire*, 258; *id.*, 'Archons', 240; *id.*, 'Shaping', 26.

77. On the different views on the pronioia, see: Z. V. Udalcova, 'Centrostromitel'nye i centrobezhnye sily v vizantijskom mire (1081-1261 gg.)', XVe CIEB, I/1 (Athens, 1976), 11-2 n. 15; Litavrin, 'Problema', 10. On the slight shift of the latter's view, see: *Rannefeodal'nye gosudarstva...*, 119. Cf. G. L. Kurbatov, *op. cit.*, 153.

78. Choniates, 209 after Angold, *Empire*, 226.

79. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 235. Cf. *id.* - A. W. Epstein, *Changes in Byzantine Culture...*, 56 ff. (see n. 57 on p. above); Angold, 'Archons', 245; *id.*, *Empire*, 225-6; N. Svoronos, 'Les privilèges de l'église à l'époque des Comnènes: un rescrit inédit de Manuel 1er Comnène', *TM* 1 (1965), 362.

the undivided Empire. Yet undoubtedly, it seems more probable that Manuel I established pronioia lands around the military centres: close to Lopadion in Anatolia, at Pelagonia, Sofia and Kipsela.⁸⁰ In Nicaea, along the western coast of Asia Minor, pronioias were established already in the reign of Theodore I Laskaris although the great distribution of the institution is associated with the time of John III Doukas Vatatzes. Pronioias were granted not only to *stratiotai* serving in the imperial army but to persons of most varied social origin as well — from the Emperor's uncle to the representatives of the lower social strata, both to members of the civil aristocracy and the entire field army. Some of the pronoiars came from families owning great landed estates.⁸¹

The fact that among the pronoiars in Nicaea ranked both the town archons and the so called *archontopouloi* is of particular importance. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century most of the pronoiars belonged namely to the influential group of the archons of different town centres, through M. Angold thinks that the military organization based on the pronioia concentrated in the towns only after 1259. As far as the *archontopouloi* are concerned, this military corps was established by Alexios I Komnenos for the sons of warriors killed in action. In Nicaea just before the restoration 52 of them owned pronioias. Here they were young people, usually, but not always, coming from noble families and preparing to enter the service.⁸²

What was the nature of the landed property owned by the archons in Greece and especially in the Peloponnese? We have already mentioned above the «ἀρχοντες κτηματικοί» on the island of

Euboea. Since the time of the Komnenoi *ktemata* had been known as estates formed by Emperor's grants and bearing large immunity rights.⁸³ It is not clear whether namely the technical meaning of *ktema* is concerned in this instance. For almost the same region — for Attica, D. Jacoby and M. Kordoses qualify the archons as «καστρηνοί» — some rich and powerful landowners living in the *kastro* of Athens were blamed by Michael Choniates to have misappropriated lands in the neighbourhood. The fact is not strange for 1198 in view of the vanishing central power. We can be sure that although the term *kastrenoi* is not quite clear there is no question of pronioias in this case. Provided that the sources explicitly mention the 'archons of the *kastro*' (and having in mind the meaning of *kastro* itself) it is possible that some of the references to *kastrenoi* in them may concern the citizens as a whole.⁸⁴

The only primary source that relates the Peloponnesian archons to pronioia estates for the time of the conquest is the *Chronicle of Morea* and especially its Greek version. However, D. Jacoby has already demonstrated the dubious nature of its terminology compared to the *Assizes of Romania* and sources from the Venetian dominions after the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁸⁵ The identification of fief with pronioia is an anachronism, being the result of the nature of these institutions towards the middle of

80. Brand (*BCH*, 10) thinks that the pronioia was a basic institution in the Byzantine provinces at the close of the twelfth century. But cf. Angold, *Empire*, 226-7 and especially Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 4-5.

81. N. Oikonomidès, 'Contribution à l'étude de la pronioia au XIIIe s. Une formule d'attribution de parèque à un pronioiaire', *REB* XXII (1964), 175; Angold, *Government*, 124-5, 126, 203, 215, 217-20, 255.

82. *Ibid.*, 177, 181, 219, 268; Angold, 'Archons', 245.

83. *Id.*, *Government*, 121, 127.

84. *Id.*, 'Archons', 239, 240, 246; *id.*, 'Shaping', 15. The Memorandum of Michael Choniates addressed to Alexios III Angelos obviously referred to the archons of Athens. — *id.*, *Empire*, 278; G. Stadtmüller, *op. cit.*, 286, ll. 16-21 (the passage). Cf. Akominatos, 2:99, ll. 3-31; Jacoby, 'Archontes', 427-8, 466; *id.*, *Féodalité*, 254; M. Dendias, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration locale dans l'Empire byzantin', in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1956), 364.

85. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 429, 432, *passim*; *id.*, 'Considérations', 152; *id.*, 'États', 8; cf. M. J. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of the Morea — a Greek...', 156; *id.*, 'Formulas...', 191-2; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 48, 49.

the fourteenth century and of the influence of the practice in the Byzantine territories of the peninsula. The lands of the Greek archons were styled 'fiefs' because their owners were assimilated to the Frankish knights. However, the four assizes referring to them (71, 138, 178 and 194) make it clear that the lands of the villains were regulated by the same right of heritage — the Byzantine right of equal inheritance 'secondo lo muodo de li Griegi' (138), and not the right of primogeniture. Therefore these estates were not modelled after the pronioia type of conditional property, all the more so since the latter became hereditary only in the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos; they were the patrimonial lands that the archons only possessed when the conquest began — 'feudi ... tegnudi antegamente' (138). D. Jacoby's answer to the question whether the pronioia had existed in the Peloponnese before the coming of the Franks underwent some changes. In the beginning he assumed that the pronioia had had a limited spread in the peninsula before 1204 and was even ready to suppose its non-existence there. Later he took into consideration the possibility that local archons could have annexed pronioias to their patrimonial estates in those turbulent times. The newly acquired lands might have been listed in the cadastres like patrimonial ones.⁸⁶

The conclusions of D. Jacoby provoked certain disapproval among some scholars because they were not only the result of their author's view about a French archetype of the *Chronicle of Morea*. These conclusions appeared to be in the centre of D. Jacoby's contention about the 'implantation of Western feudalisms' in the peninsula after the Frankish conquest. It was emphasized, with some reason, that the outcome of the 'pronioia controversy' should not predetermine the answer of the question on Byzantine feudalism in general; the differences between the 'classical pronioia'

86. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 428-9, 433-5, 437, 440, 447, 453, 462-3, 465, 480; id., *Féodalité*, 35, 224, 225; id., 'Encounter', 877-8; id., 'Etats', 8-10; id., 'Byzantium', 4. Cf. Kordoses, *loc. cit.*

and the western fief should not be overestimated either.⁸⁷ Attention was paid to the fact that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries real rights were also ceded under the pronioia without the latter being relevant to military service only. In the reign of the Komnenoi some members of the civil aristocracy were granted pronioias, too. D. Jacoby himself points to the existence of estates in the peninsula that belonged to the high landed aristocracy, calling them, in H. Ahrweiler's style, "apanages".⁸⁸

The specific character of the Peloponnese as regards its military and administrative structure — the peninsula was within a maritime theme under the supremacy of the *megas dux* — as well as the silence of the sources is for the present quite a grave obstacle for scholars to admit the existence of the military pronioia there before 1204. Of course, we should have in mind that in Byzantium the conditional landed property was, in comparison to the west, less widely spread; this was one of the typological characteristics of the Byzantine land regime. Nevertheless the stability of the newly established social structure in the Morea after 1204 all the same points to the principal resemblance between the newly im-

87. Litavrin, 'Problema', 9-11; cf. *Rannefeodal'nye gosudarstva...*, 119 where the latter speaks openly about the relation between the pronioia and the 'independent feudal principalities on the eve of the Fourth Crusade that recognized only nominally the authority of Constantinople'. A summary of the resemblances/differences can be found in Z.V. Udalcova, 'Vizantija i Zapadnaja Evropa (tipologičeskie nabljudenija)', *VO* (1977), 3-65. Among the Soviet scholars it was only I.P. Medvedev (*Mistra*, 52-3, 61-2 n. 15) who almost entirely accepted Jacoby's view, only trying to correct it as regards the terminology of the Greek version of the *Chronicle*. Cf. id., 'K voprosu o social'noj terminologii...', 139, 140-1 and n. 6, 143.

88. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer...*, 219 n. 1: "pronioia héréditaire (apanage) - pronioia militaire". Contra: Medvedev, *Mistra*, 53 and M.F. Hendy, *Studies...*

86. On criticism of Jacoby's hypothesis, see: A. Carile, 'Sulla pronioia nel Peloponneso bizantino anteriormente alla conquista latina', *ZRVI XVI* (1975), 58, 60-1; id., *Storia*, 241-2, 256-7. Contra: Jacoby, 'États', 9 n. 30; id., 'Byzantium', 34 and n. 9. On the controversy between D. Jacoby and A. Carile cf. I.P. Medvedev, 'K voprosu...', 142-3.

planted and the previous agrarian relations.⁸⁹

What is more, D. Jacoby's view includes one insufficiently classified point that opens the door to the revival of extreme hypotheses about the pronioia in the Peloponnese, especially among the representatives of G. Ostrogorsky's school. Who are indeed the numerous *archontes* in the *Chronicle of Morea*? Since there was quite a possibility of influence on its author by the contemporary scene, a possibility that should be taken into account in evaluating the terminology, why shouldn't we suppose that this reality exercised a certain influence upon the usage of the term *archon* as well? Were these the same archons known to us after other sources from the century before the conquest? What did the author of the Greek version mean by στρατεία and στρατιώτης?

D. Jacoby points out indeed that the Frankish barons also appear in the *Chronicle* as archons, while the local ones are assimilated to the knights. He explains how in the original version *the Greek archons who first allied with the Franks*, automatically became holders of fiefs, or of lands assimilated to the latter, *like the Moreot archons of the fourteenth century*. Hence, in the Greek version they become pronoiars. D. Jacoby distinguishes the Peloponnesian archons from the high Byzantine aristocracy (Branades, Kantakouzenoi) which was absent from its estates in the peninsula on the eve of the conquest. At the same time, however, he thinks that the archons of the *Morea* appearing in the *Chronicle* were the same rich landowners from the time of the Empire who, due to their wealth, social status and, occasionally, an office held, were "une classe de fait". Such were in his view Leo Sgouros, Leo Chamaretos and the "archon from the region of Methone — maybe John Kantakouzenos". As a whole he sees them as leaders of the resistance against the conquerors.

89. Angold, *Empire*, 226-7; Litavrin, 'Problema', 10-11; cf. I.P. Medvedev, op. cit., 144 and n. 20.

D. Jacoby is convinced that they obviously differed from the rest of the population and in the time of the frangokratia became aristocracy "de droit" — a class among the autochthons but not in the feudal hierarchy. According to him the frequent distinction in the *Chronicle* between the archons and the people (the common folk — «τὸ κοινόν») is to be found in the western sources from the time of the conquest; in various diplomatic documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries 'archons and *archontopouloi* appear as equal in nature to *nobiles* (in fact they were notables since before 1204). Thus during the Frankish domination the 'class' of the archons comprised of those who formed it before in the Empire and their descendants; it became a closed entity. The term *stratiotes* denominating once the pronoiar, in the *Chronicle of Morea* corresponds to a knight.⁹⁰

In view of the above findings it seems obvious that the archons could not but form a social group in the ruling class, especially in the twelfth century. What is more, the studies of M. Angold point out that they did not leave their side openly. The smaller archons did not differ much in their economic status from the rich town proprietors (the *mesoi*).⁹¹ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Byzantines themselves realized in practice the existence of a particular social group — the nobility, but the dividing line between nobleness and commonalty, as well as the gradations in the aristocracy itself, were not clarified. And yet the contemporaries saw the aristocracy as comprised of those persons who were in touch with and had the supreme state power. In the twelfth century its elite was represented by the Emperor's relatives, followed by the *synkletikoi* — the administrators (the awareness of them

90. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 424, 426-8, 440, 443 (the *archontopouloi* were archons' sons), 445, 466-9, 471; id., 'Encounter', 882-3 ('archontes as great landowners'), 892-3; id., 'États', 7, 10-11, 23 (the *archontopouloi* were of lower social position and belonged to the clan of the archons); id., 'Byzantium', 6, 27. Cf. Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 45, 46, 53.

91. Angold, 'Archons', 239, 240.

as being a distinct group was alien to the western social consciousness at that time), and the courtiers. Towards the close of the century, however, the civil aristocracy came to the fore. As contrasted with the elite the bulk of the ruling class (in number) were the provincial proprietors - aristocrats; they were not included in the Byzantine schemes of social stratification but did have their own gradation in which the archons occupied only a step. There existed in the province a certain group of landowners who were irrelevant both to the town and to the imperial service. The Byzantine authors thought of it as being an exception to the rule but in practice these landowners controlled the power in their territories. Even in the Greek towns 'the powerful and the illustrious of birth', 'the prominent' did not always intermingle with those 'distinguished in rank'.⁹²

This is why one should have in mind the characteristics of the western social consciousness when, following D. Jacoby, points to the distinction between the archons and the folk on the basis of Henry of Valenciennes.⁹³ This latter's impression should not be accepted as absolutely valid about Greek society as a whole. One ought to be careful not to transfer the image of archons and villeins/common people from the Moreot reality of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the conquest. The western authors of the twelfth century imagined the Byzantine society as insufficiently hierarchical and even creating the illusion of equality.⁹⁴ What is more, the evolution of the term *archon* in the

92. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 11, 56, 65, 70, 77, 85-6, 247-54, esp. 250 and n. 59: about Thebes and Corinth in the reign of Manuel I Komnenos. Cf. Choniates, 75 l. 76, 76 ll. 85-6, 74 l. 36.

93. *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, (ed. J. Longnon), para. 672 (p. 111) — for Thebes.

94. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 468; Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 56. Cf. A. Carile, ('Sulla pronomia...', 59-60; *Storia*, 241) who, though opposing D. Jacoby, also speaks about a 'class of archons' and ranks the Branades and the Kantakouzenoi among the 'archontic families' in the Peloponnese.

Byzantine world after 1204 should be taken into consideration. From the middle of the thirteenth century on the civil aristocracy seemed thoroughly to identify itself with the senatorial archons (the *synektikoi*), and according to V. A. Smetanin in Byzantine epistolography the archons appear to be 'estate number one', 'binar estate of the secular and church feudal lords'. Late Byzantine epistles contain phrases like 'archon - family', 'archons - subjects', 'archons - common people (*idiotes*)'. In the last phrase first may come 'the violators', 'the despots', 'the dynasts', 'the dynastoi', 'the rulers', 'those taking part in the administration', 'the lords'.⁹⁵

The 'estate' of the archons was heterogeneous in the scope of its feudal rights as well. It was subdivided into 'big'/'great' and 'small', into *megistanes* and the other ones. One may pick out of the archons 'the most noble', 'governors' (τῶν τόπων), 'more noble', and 'the rest'. And the phrase «ὁ κοινὸς λαός» used in the fourteenth century suggests that the epistolographers did not imagine the folk socially homogeneous.⁹⁶

It seems to us that the passage of the Aragonese version of the Chronicle concerning 1264 should be seen in this very light: the baron of Karytaina Geoffrey of Briel awarded the Greeks whom he had fostered and nourished for the support they gave him against the Byzantines — he dubbed the more distinguished knights and granted 'muchos bellos donos de tierras & de otras cosas'.⁹⁷

The Greek version of the Chronicle gives more information

95. Angold, *Government*, 73; V.A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo...*, 124-5, 128-9 (see n. 71 on p. 50 above).

96. *Ibid.*, 129, 164.

97. *Libro*, paras. 315, 331. According to Jacoby ('Archontes', 471) these 'more distinguished' were archons or members of archontic families. Cf. P. Topping, 'Feudal Institutions As Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece', in id., *Studies on Latin Greece, A.D. 1205-1715* (VRL, 1977), no. I:121; id., 'Co-existence', 6.

about the social structure of the Peloponnesian aristocracy. After the capture of Corinth the archons and the common folk, 'small and great', 'from the town of Damala and from as far away as Hagion Oros went over to the Franks (vv. 1496-8 [112]). At Andravida the archons of the plain of Elis all did homage to William of Champlitte and sent messengers everywhere they knew there lived friends and relatives of theirs to tell them what had happened and about the terms of the 'Champenois' (vv. 1631-8 [116]). *Three of the archons* of Monemvasia handed in the keys of the fortress to William II of Villehardouin; they were «οἱ εὐγενικώτεροι» of those living in the town (vv. 2944-9). Sometimes we find the collective phrase τὸ ἀρχοντολόγι(ον) — 'of Morea and all Mesarea' (v. 1642), as well as of Skorta (vv. 5469-70); a certain part of the Byzantines is also styled in the same way (vv. 4106, 5174, 8897).⁹⁸ Among the archons themselves the *archontopouloi*, the lower stratum, may be discerned. At Andravida the *archontologi* of Morea and all Mesarea came to terms with William of Champlitte that all the *archontopouloi* who had had pronoiias would have «τὴν ἀνθρωπέαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν, everyone according to his rank (vv. 1642-46 [116]).⁹⁹

In contrast to D. Jacoby, J. Ferluga thinks that it was the archontopouloi who held military pronoiias (in his words everyone held one), while among the archons themselves there were both owners of hereditary estates and of estates that consisted of patrimonial lands and of pronoiias. If we judge by the history of the term *archontopouloi* (see above) such a suggestion has a certain logic.¹⁰⁰ Whatever the future studies may reveal about the ex-

98. Cf. Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 81; id., 'Plemstvo', 122.

99. Cf. vv. 5463-4: «ἀρχοντες... καὶ ἀρχοντόπουλα κι ἄλλον λαὸν μετ' αὐτούς».

100. Ferluga, 'Plemstvo', 123-4; id., 'Aristocratie', 83-5. On the archons all in all being pronoiars, see: A. Carile, 'Sulla pronoiia...', 58 ff.; id., *Storia*, 241 ff. A recent reservation cf. at P. Gounarides, 'Οἱ πολιτικὲς προϋποθέσεις γιὰ τὴν ἀντίσταση στοὺς Λατίνους τὸ 1204', *S* 5 (1983), 151-2. Cf. G.L. Kurbatov,

istence of the pronoiia in the Peloponnese before the Frankish conquest (if, of course, they bring into use new sources), the nature of the archons' patrimonial estates at that time was already compatible with the principal characteristics of feudalism.¹⁰¹

Most scholars believe that the Greek towns did not have a strong middle class (*mesoi*). It consisted of tradesmen, owners of lands in the surroundings of the town or of estates in the town itself. This stand is confirmed by the absence of craft corporations during the period in question, and also by the lack of data about any independent town institutions. There is, however, some information about the existence of micro-groups: in Thebes, for example, in the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century there existed a confraternity whose activity consisted in organizing the cult towards an icon of the Virgin Mary, kept in a convent in Naupaktos. Its member Stephen from Corinth was obviously no immigrant to Thebes, but he joined the brothers on their tours with the icon around different regions of continental Greece. With one possible exception the confraternity did not have members of high social status.¹⁰²

Despite this relatively weak social background, at the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century the centre of life in the province moved from the functioning of the theme organization towards town activity. On the one hand, this was due to the promotion of some local industries which gained a regional significance. Corinth was most subjected to these changes. It was not by chance that later the *Chronicle of Morea* would preserve a tradition granting this town the leading role in the Peloponnese. During the Norman invasion in 1147 Corinth yielded more loot than Thebes;

op. cit., 159, 161.

101. Medvedev, *Mistra*, 53; P. Gounarides, op. cit., 143; G.L. Kurbatov, op. cit., 159.

102. J. Nesbitt - J. Witta, 'A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era', *BZ* 68 (1975), 378, 383; Angold, 'Shaping', 18.



the sack cost it its further prosperity. Van der Vin is sceptical about the functioning of the *diolkos* in the twelfth century and considers the evidence on that issue an antique reminiscence.¹⁰³ There is sound evidence, however, of the existence of silk production, and, moreover, not only of local importance. Venetian merchants were interested mainly in the export of agricultural products, so here there was no exterior stimulus for development. Purely internal were also the causes which gave impetus to the development of glass production. The remains of an eleventh - twelfth - century glassworks in Corinth point to the existence of a production of medium volume: the workshop had only one furnace and about 11 sq m of working space.

Certain specialization in the town activities also continued in Patras and Monemvasia. The ships of the latter often appeared in the port of Athens. Sparta and Nikli prospered, too.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand there appeared the Venetians. A lot has already been written on the disastrous role of the Venetians in the economic development of the Empire after 1082. Probably, one of the reasons which attracted the Republic to the Greek towns was their economic welfare, which would have been impossible without the existence of a home market, however limited it might have been. Corinth was again among the most often visited towns on the peninsula. The journey from the capital where the Venetian colony was most numerous, sometimes was carried out even by land.¹⁰⁵ Sparta did not lag behind, either. One of the most enterprising Venetian merchants, Romano Mairano, toured

103. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:211.

104. Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 142; P. Tivčev, 'Sur les cités byzantines aux XIe-XIIe siècles', *BB* I (1965), 155, 162; V. Panayotopoulos, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της Πελοποννήσου 13ος-18ος αιώνας* (Athens 1985), 49; N. K. Moutsopoulos, 'Νίκλι-Μούχλι', in *Ε' Πανελλήνιο ιστορικό συνέδριο: Πρακτικά* (Thessalonica, 1984), 185. On textile industries in Patras, see M. Hendy, *Studies*, 207.

105. Angold, *Empire*, 248; M. Martin, 'The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204', *BF* XIII (1988), 211.

its region in 1153-1154, and during the period 1165-1171 Vitale Voltani was the leading figure in the olive oil market in Sparta, Thebes and Corinth. In the middle of the century the archons of Sparta sold about 400 measures of olive oil to be transported to the capital and resold there. Twenty years later eleven Venetians lodged a claim for 105 milliaresia, lost in a deal in the same town.¹⁰⁶ Naturally, Venetian merchants obtained different kinds of property in Greek towns. There is evidence that since 1146 (in Corinth), and since 1168 (in Sparta) there existed Venetian monasteries.¹⁰⁷

Thus, Venetian presence in the Greek towns stimulated, at least at the start, agricultural activity because of the growing demand for cereals, olive oil, cotton and linen goods. In the twelfth century the Peloponnese even became the major cereals supplier of the capital. In the "increasingly market-oriented economy" of the peninsula Venetian merchants might have had an "appreciable, and perhaps even definable, catalytic impact" on the appearance of profit as a stimulus for local peasantry. However, the presence of the Venetians in the Peloponnese as a whole should not be overestimated. They played an essential but not a dominating role in local trade, more exactly — in "specific localities". They had exclusive control only on the big trade operations with the West.¹⁰⁸

Those who profited most from the Venetian trade activity in

106. A. Lombardo - R. Morozzo della Rocca (eds.), *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto dei secoli XI-XIII* (Venice, 1953), no. 316, no. 320 after Fr. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne en moyen âge* (Paris, 1958). Cf. M.S. Kordoses, 'Τὸ ἐμπόριο στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Λακωνία (Θ' αἰ. - 1204)', in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Α' τοπικοῦ συνεδρίου Λακωνικῶν Μελετῶν* (Athens, 1983), 112; M. Hendy, *Studies*, 52.

107. P. Schreiner, 'Untersuchungen zu den Niederlassungen westlicher Kaufleute im byzantinischen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts', *BF* VII (1979), 179; Angold, *Empire*, 198-9.

108. Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 27, 28; M. Hendy, *Studies*, 52, 601.

Greece, were the big landowners and the town archons. This, of course, helped the transition of the Greek lands into a raw-material base of the Italian republic. Further economic growth would have been naturally in favour of the general progress of the peninsula, yet, as M. Angold remarks, hardly to their advantage.¹⁰⁹

As we saw, this provincial social elite is not often mentioned in the sources. The families originating from the Peloponnese were civil (Xeroi, Choirosphaktes, Alpheoi, Sgouroi) and there was only one military among them — the Maurozomes, being out of the Komnenos clan.¹¹⁰ The absence of top-layer ruling-class representatives of local origin had serious consequences for the behaviour of the social elite and the middle class, as well as for the social psychology of the Peloponnesians. Probably, liberated to a considerable extent from the imperial ideal, the local aristocracy had more freedom, that freedom the lack of which makes A. Kazhdan qualify the behaviour of the Byzantines as 'individualism without freedom'.¹¹¹ We do not know how often the estates of the aristocracy from Constantinople, mentioned in the Treaty of Partition (Kantakouzenoi, Branades, Angeloi) were visited by their owners, who were obviously away from the peninsula when the Empire was divided. It is hardly probable, as I. P. Medvedev maintains, that the family estates of the Kantakouzenoi were in the Peloponnese despite the popular hypothesis that the Greek seigneur who helped Geoffrey of Villehardouin in the winter of 1204 was a member of this family.¹¹²

109. In 'Archons', 249.

110. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 203-5. Cf. M. Hendy, *op. cit.*, 137. On the Sgouroi, see Chapter II.

111. A.P. Kazhdan - G. Constable, *People and Power...*, 34 (see n. 57 on p. above); A. Kazhdan, 'The Aristocracy and the Imperial Ideal', in *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 43-57; id., - A.W. Epstein, *Change...*, 104 ff.

112. Medvedev, *Mistra*, 62 n. 18. The toponym Βραβά has been registered

Such a state of the upper layers of the Peloponnesian society suggests a considerable role of the local archons and the church as a whole. When in the twelfth century the Arabs threatened the Peloponnesian coasts again, the bishop of Argos and Nauplion Leo moved the nunnery of the Virgin Mary τῆς Ἀρείας to another convent which he built at Merbaka (1143).¹¹³ Two of the top church hierarchs of the Peloponnese left a trace in the intellectual activity of the imperial elite in the twelfth century — Nicholas, the bishop of Methone (1115/20-1161, or later) felt himself bound with the local church tradition and wrote a *Vita* of Meletios the New (†1105), who had served in Attica and Boeotia. He is also the author of the canon and the sticharion about St. Leo of Methone, and was probably the founder of the cult for that saint. It is possible that Nicholas might indeed have miraculously found his body at about 9 km east from Methone, as the studies of historical geographers show.¹¹⁴ The cult of St. Nikon in Lakedaimon was apparently supported by the metropolitan see of the same name. During the frangokratia pilgrims continued

in Southwest Peloponnese: D. Georgacas - W. McDonald, *Place Names of Southwest Peloponnesus* (Mineapolis, 1967), no. 1176.

113. R. Janin, 'Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (Xe-XIVe s.)', *REB* XXII (1964), 41; V. Konde, 'Συμβολή στην ιστορική γεωγραφία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος', *S* 5 (1983), 171, 181; G. A. Choras, 'Ἡ «Ἀγία Μονή» Ἀρείας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ καὶ πολιτικῇ ἱστορίᾳ Ναυπλίου καὶ Ἀργους (Athens, 1975), 35.

114. A. Avraméa - M. Kyrkou, *op. cit.*, 26-9. On Nicholas, see: A. Angelou, 'Nicholas of Methone: The Life and Works of a 12th-century Bishop', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullet and R. Scott (Birmingham, 1981), 143-8; ead., *Nicholas of Methone: Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology* [Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, I] (Athens, 1984); G. Podskalsky, 'Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz 11.-12. Jhdt.', *OCHP* 42 (1976), 509-23; A.P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agriografii* (VRL, 1970), 248; Ch. Thelemes, 'Ἡ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ θεολογικὴ κίνησις κατὰ τὸν IB' αἰῶνα καὶ ὁ Μεθώνης Νικόλαος', *P* 16 (1985-6), 17-26; D.A. Zakythinos, 'Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ἑλλάς, 392-1204 (Athens, 1965), 100-1.

to come to his monastery in the town.¹¹⁵ The Patras archbishopric prompted the reverence of apostle Andrew who according to the sigillographic data, was the patron of ecclesiastical persons for the most part.¹¹⁶ The future metropolitan of Corinth, George Pardos (Gregory), while still in Constantinople, composed several treatises on grammar and rhetoric which had a rich manuscript tradition.¹¹⁷

The study of H. Kalligas suggests that probably by the middle of the twelfth century a member of the Kontostephanos family, who had participated in the naval operations in the region, founded the 'Kontostephanos' monastery near Monemvasia. It is possible that the spot of the monastery was chosen for its view of the sea (and of the site of the sea battle?) and was identical with the church of Geroumana (12th c.).¹¹⁸ But this activity cannot be paralleled to that of the Peloponnesian clergy. In the twelfth century the whole peninsula was strewn with religious buildings and in most cases this construction was initiated by the local church.

Though splendour was not characteristic of the Peloponnesian churches of that period (the absence of mosaics points to the resources of the region), they were performed in a remarkable fashion and had more than regional significance. They do not point to the existence of a Peloponnesian style despite the conformity with the local traditions, but followed the rules of the so-called 'Greek school' in Byzantine art. Some of its best examples are to be found on the peninsula. The church architecture, however, was not conservative, and the structure and decoration reveal influences from Attica, Asia Minor, Constantinople, elements from

115. *Livre*, para. 924.

116. G. Zacos - A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, nos. 651, 736.

117. On him, see: A. Kominis, *Gregorio Pardos metropolita di Corinto e la sua opera* [Testi e Studi bizantino-neoellenici, 2] (Istituto di Studi bizantino-neoellenici: University of Rome, 1960).

118. Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 141.

the East and the West, for example, in Argolis (see Chapter III.3.2.).¹¹⁹

The above review shows that the pattern of the Peloponnesian history in the century before the conquest was created by the town through the different manifestations of its activity. But on the way down the typology ladder — from the big towns to the ordinary fortresses, the leading role of the town faded, especially in the interior of the peninsula. The social situation in the Greek provinces at the end of the century did not favour the continuation of the economic upsurge. The corruption among the theme aristocracy, the tax embezzlements, the piratical attacks on the coast caused stagnation which was reinforced by some negative aspects of Venetian trade activity. By 1198 the Peloponnese came to the attention of Constantinople for the last time and again in connection with the taxes. Having at their disposal no important demographical resources¹²⁰ or imperial military support, the forces which in 1204-1205 met the invading Franks, were, of course, not by chance within the walls of the towns. The crusaders took note for that in their tradition — by the special for the knighthood figure twelve, the number of Charlemagne's companions.

119. V. J. Djurić, 'La peinture murale byzantine du XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in *Actes du XVe CIEB*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1979), 227-8; K. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria, 1982), 111-2.

120. Cf. V. Panayotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 179 contra Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 154 who claims that in the period considered the Peloponnese was densely populated. Cf. the review of Panayotopoulos' work by M. S. Kordoses in *Ιστορικογεωγραφικά* 2 (1988), 203 ff.

Chapter II

Political and Administrative Development of Frankish Morea (1204-1262)

«'Αφότου γὰρ ἐρκέρδισεν ὁ πρίγκιπας Γυλιάμος
κάστρον τῆς Μονοβασίας, ἐπλάτυνε ἡ ἀφεντία του· οὐκ
εἶχεν γὰρ νὰ μάχεται μὲ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ κόσμου.»

(Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, 3142-4)

1. *The Conquest of the Peninsula by the Knights of the Fourth Crusade (1204-1252)*

On 12 April 1204 the knights of the Fourth Crusade 'with the help of God' took Constantinople, 'the strongest city in all the world.'¹ The subjugation of the territories parceled out beforehand began, however, only in the autumn. Scholars are not unanimous about the treaty agreement concerning the Peloponnese, especially its northeastern parts that, together with Boeotia and central Euboea, were omitted in the *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae* compiled between 12 April and 9 May. The share of Venice was more discernible. Next to the territories west of the

1. Villehardouin, para. 251 (65). The pages in parentheses (and sometimes in square brackets) are after the translation by Sir Frank Marzials in *Memoirs of the Crusades by Villehardouin and de Joinville* (London, 1926). Part of this chapter is included in my article already mentioned in n. 67 on p. above.

Pindos the Republic was assigned the western Peloponnese from Patras to Modon and the hinterland (probably from Kalavryta to Ostrovo) as well as the theme of Lakedaimonia to the southeast.² The interpretation of Villehardouin's phrase 'l'isle de Grece' (paras. 258, 264) is of crucial importance to the parties at issue. Villehardouin gives this island, together with 'all the land on the further side of the straits, towards Turkey' (that is, Asia Minor), as being allotted to the candidate for the throne not elected.³ According to N. Oikonomidès however, here the Byzantine islands close to Asia Minor are concerned.⁴ After the election of Baldwin Boniface of Montferrat exchanged the territories in Asia Minor for Thessalonica and the area around it. Why then were the above mentioned territories omitted in the Treaty of Partition — as being assigned (and ceded?) to Boniface of Montferrat or as being controlled by the famous Leo Sgouros? Whatever the case might have been, the campaign of Boniface down to these regions was not questioned, while the operations of Villehardouin and Champlitte in the Peloponnese would call forth the interference of Venice. It is also necessary to have in mind that Thessaly and Attica were assigned to the pilgrims.⁵

2. A. Carile, 'Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae', SVZ 7 (1965), 219, ll. 45-8, 57-62, 161 n. 181; id., *Storia*, 202. On the dating of the *Partitio*, see N. Oikonomidès, 'La décomposition de l'empire byzantin...', 8-11 (see n. 53 on p. above); Carile, *op. cit.*, 322-3.

3. (67) On the same phrase, see Henry of Valenciennes, *Histoire*, para. 584 (p. 69). And Robert of Cléry (*La conquête de Constantinople*, CXI [ed. Ph. Lauer, Paris, 1924], 105, l. 16) says that Venice took over "l'isle de Mosson". Most of the scholars identify this island with the Peloponnese while B. Hendricks ('Quelques problèmes à la conquête de la Morée par les Francs', *Bužavrivà* 4 [1922], 386) claims that the island concerned was Crete.

4. N. Oikonomidès, *op. cit.*, 6-7.

5. Carile, *Storia*, 230; id., 'Partitio', 164. He (*ibid.*, 152 n. 147, 159, 164, 188, 199) is a staunch adherent to the first hypothesis: at the beginning "l'isle de Grece" (that is, the Peloponnese) was assigned to Boniface but after his rival was elected Emperor its western part was ceded to Venice; she, in her turn, probably ceded

In response to the above question N. Oikonomidès lays special emphasis on the use in the *Partitio* of official Byzantine information about the state of the Empire on the eve of 12 April 1204. Therefore the omissions were not due to ignorance. In his opinion they obviously indicate that the territories omitted were controlled by Sgouros and not by the government.⁶ How far had the former extended his actual power just before the fateful event?

It should be noted that some major details in the career of that, to quote an interesting statement, 'curiously non-Greek figure' of the time remain obscure while others still give rise to debates.⁷ Why did Leo (?) Sgouros levy on his own behalf the

her territories in central Greece(?) and the island of Euboea to the marquis. Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 53, 54; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 72. Villehardouin, however, says (para. 264 [70]) that in return for the "terre" first assigned to him Boniface asked the Emperor Baldwin to cede him "le roialme de Salonique". J. Longnon (*Compagnons*, 230, 252) repeats the same statement and dates it in May-June 1204. I. Božilov (comm. of *Žofroa djo Vilarduen, Zavladjavaneto na Konstantinopol* [Sofia, 1985], 146 n. 16, 164) specifies that Villehardouin is wrong to speak of a kingdom of Thessalonica as early as 1204. He claims that Boniface asked not only for Thessalonica but for Macedonia, Epiros, Thessaly and Hellas as well, and the Emperor gave his consent about the exchange. Cf., however, *ibid.*, 203: only Thessalonica in return for Asia Minor.

6. N. Oikonomidès, *op. cit.*, 11-2, 17, 18; *Ιστορία του Έλληνικού Έθνους*, vol. 9 (Athens, 1979), 248 (Chrysa Maltezou); A. Dančeva-Vasileva, *Bulgaria i Latinskata imperija, 1204-1261* (Sofia, 1985), 49. Contra: Carile, *Storia*, 323-4. Cf. recently Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 144-5.

7. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 64, 166; Cheetham, *Greece*, 65. Sources and recent literature: Choniates, 604 l. 59 - 608 l. 60, 609 l. 73 - 610 l. 95, 611: ll. 26-35, 638: ll. 41-61 (the pages in parentheses/square brackets are after the translation by H.J. Magoulias: *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* [Detroit, 1984]); Villehardouin, paras. 301, 324, 331-2; Akominatos, 1: 308 ll. 4-11, 324 l. 14 ff., 326 l. 30 ff.; 2: 122 ll. 17-30, 124 l. 21, 125 l. 2, 164 l. 5 - 188 l. 24, esp. 169 l. 25 - 171 l. 16; *Chronikon*, vv. 1463-89, 1528-38 (the pages in parentheses/square brackets are after the translation by H.E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors...*; *Libre*, paras. 96-101; *Libro*, paras. 92-6; *Cronaca*, 423-4; George Akropolites, *Historia*, ed. by A. Heisenberg - P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978), 13 ll. 19-22; Theodore Skoutariotes, *Synopsis chronike*, ed. by K.N. Sathas in *Bibliotheca*

main fleet tax in the *horia* of Athens and Thebes-Euripos in 1198? When did he receive the title of *sebastohypertatos* (found on a lead seal of his) which marked affiliation to the highest rank of the aristocracy throughout the twelfth century? Should we treat Skoutariotes saying that the runaway Alexios III Angelos gave Sgouros the title of Despot, the second highest title in the Empire? Is it possible to date, at least approximately, the latter's hostilities in Africa and Boeotia?

Leo Sgouros was born in Nauplion and, succeeding his father there, 'for some time prevailed over his countrymen, by force rather than by persuasion'.⁸ The Memorandum (*Hypomnestikon*) of Michael Choniates addressed to Alexios III Angelos in 1198 mentions that the Thebans, the Chalcidians and the Athenians paid «ὕπερ πλωϊμῶν τῷ Σγουρῷ καὶ τῷ πραιτορί». ⁹ Perhaps

Graeca Medii Aevi, vol. 7 (Paris, 1894), 453 ll. 25-8; Innocent III, *Reg.*, XIV, in *PL* 216: 460; 'Petitions', 288 ll. 5-12; Ephraim Ainos, *Chronographia*, ed. by O. Lampisides (Athens, 1985), 2: 237-8, vv. 7296-332, 247: vv. 7578-80; I. Božilov, *op. cit.*, 148 n. 26, *TIB*, I (Koder), 68; N. Zacharopoulos, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τὴ Φραγκοκρατία* (Thessalonica, 1981), 82 ff., 119, 234-5; R. Radić, 'Oblasni gospodari u Vizantiji krajem XII i u prvim decenijama XIII veka', *ZRVI XXIV-XXV* (1986), 245; M. S. Kordoses, *Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία καὶ τοπογραφία τῆς περιοχῆς Κορίνθου στοὺς Μέσους χρόνους* (Athens, 1981), 95 ff; id., *Conquest*, 63 f., 162 f., A.G.K. Savvides, *Μελέτες βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας 11ου-13ου αἰῶνα* (Athens, 1986), 41-2; id., 'Strife', 258, 260, 261, 272; id., *MGEI*, 74-6; id., 'Note', 289-95.

8. Choniates, 605 ll. 65-70 (332; 408 n. 1640); Brand, *BCH*, 152; R. Radić, *op. cit.*, 248 and references. According to M.G. Lambrynidis (*Ἡ Ναυπλία ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς* [Nauplia, 1975³] 28) Sgouros' father, Theodore(?), was appointed 'archon of Nauplion' by Manuel I Komnenos in 1180. Cf. S. Doanidou, *Ἡ Φραγκοκρατία στὴν Πόλη τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, 1205-1456* (Athens, 1979), 199; Savvides, *MGEI*, 74 (Theodore was a 'Peloponnesian toparch'); id., 'Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Θήβα, 996/7 - 1204 μ.Χ.', *Ἱστορικογεωγραφικὰ* 2 (1988), 49.

9. Akominatow, 1:308 ll. 8-11 = G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates*, 284 ll. 1-4. The second editor dates the Memorandum to 1198/1199. Most scholars think that here Sgouros-son is concerned. But M.G. Lambrynidis, *loc. cit.*, and after

a service like this might have been connected with the bearing of the title of *panhypertimos* on Sgouros' behalf. The title is mentioned in Michael Choniates' letter to the logothete of the drome Constantine Tornikes. The letter is an appeal for assistance against Sgouros' expected raids on Attica. The problem is that we are not able to establish the exact place of that title in the Byzantine hierarchy of the time. It seems obvious, however, that the other title of Sgouros — *sebastohypertatos*, was much higher than the first one.¹⁰

We cannot be sure when Leo Sgouros received the title of *sebastohypertatos*. The practice of the Court indicates that during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos this title belonged to two of the Emperor's sons-in-law — Constantine Angelos, the husband of the last daughter of Alexios I Komnenos, Theodora, and Theodore Vatatzes — married to the youngest daughter of John II Komnenos, Eudokia.¹¹ Most probably at the time of the Angeloi the title remained in possession of the Vatatzes family.

him, A. Savvides, *loc. cit.*, claim that the father had a major role in those activities. Cf. id., 'Strife', 258 n. 1, 261 n. 4.

10. The letter, no. 77, is in Akominatos, 2: 124-5, the passage referred to — 124 l. 121 ff. G. Stadtmüller (*op. cit.*, 252) used the mention of the threat on behalf of Sgouros to date the letter as early as the second half of 1199 or 1200. No. 77 is connected with no. 75, 'Ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου (Theodore Eirenikos). — Akominatos, 2: 121-2 and esp. 122 l. 18 ff. On the same grounds G. Stadtmüller (*loc. cit.*) gave as Frühgrenze 1200. The dating of the first letter has been accepted, "conjecturalement", by J. Darrouzès ('Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès [1200-1205]', *REB XXVI* [1968], 106 l. 14 and n. 18), who points out that in it Constantine Tornikes appears to be a very recent successor of his father Demetrios as logothete of the drome. Cf. id. (ed.), George et Démétrios Tornikès, *Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1970), 34. However, Brand (*BCH*, 142-3) thinks that Constantine Tornikes became logothete of the drome ca. 1200 or 1201. Cf. also Angold, *Empire*, 280 (in 1201).

11. Their precise title was *pansebastohypertatos* but according to L. Stiernon ('Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines: Constantin Ange [pansebastohypertate]', *REB XIX* [1961], 276-7, 281-3) it was identical with *sebastohypertatos*.

Yet in a letter of the archbishop of Ochrid, Demetrios Chomatianos, written in or after December 1222, George Daimonogiannes from Monemvasia, *θεῖος* of Theodore Komnenos Doukas and bearing the title of *protopansebastohypertatos* is mentioned.¹² Since his title was unfamiliar in the Nicaean court one may only assume that it was the same Alexios III who had given it to him (after the Emperor was ransomed by Michael I Doukas?). It is then probable that Sgouros became *sebastohypertatos* when marrying the youngest daughter of Alexios III, Eudokia, in Larissa in the autumn of 1204. For the present the assertion based on Skoutariotes that the father rejected his second son-in-law, the Despot Theodore Laskaris, and made fast the marriage between Eudokia and Sgouros ceding the title of Despot to the latter, remains unbacked by other sources though it is supported by some scholars.¹³

If we return to the appearance of a Sgouros levying the *ploiōi*, we may consider the following possibility: in connection with the *Privilegium* issued to the Venetians in 1198 and with the multiplied piratical raids on the Aegean seacoast, the duties of the civil official, the *praetor*, were doubled there by the archon of the *horion* of Corinth/Argos - Nauplion, the latter being Leo Sgouros or his father. Leo's chances seem a little bit greater if we recall the words of Michael Choniates from the walls of the Athenian acropolis that Leo 'was not unfamiliar to him and would often

12. Chomatianos, col. 92; cf. P. Magdalino, 'A Neglected Authority...', 316-23.

13. Cf. recently Kordoses, *Conquest*, 71-2; id., *Southern Greece*, 9; Savvides, 'Note', 291 n. 8. Contra: R. Radić, op. cit., 250, 251 n. 24 who claims that the 'agreement in Thessaly' was reached at the end of 1204 but the wedding was 'celebrated' in the beginning of 1205. He thinks that Sgouros usurped the title of *sebastohypertatos*. This might have happened in any time after 1200/1201 but the implication would be that Sgouros had already penetrated into the high aristocratic circles before he became son-in-law of Alexios III, and if so, would change our traditional view of Sgouros' marriage to Eudokia.

come to him to discuss matters'.¹⁴ There ought to have existed, though briefly, a period of co-operation between them, especially if we claim that probably Sgouros went on to bleed the Athenians with the hateful tax.

Such an assumption could explain the presence of a fleet at Sgouros' disposition and his operations along the coasts of central Greece and Argonauplia (Hermione and the island of Aegina). That fleet might not necessarily have been the sign of an alliance with the pirates of Aegina and Salamis.¹⁵ The assumption is also backed up by the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* saying that at the arrival of the crusaders Sgouros 'as governor and rightful lord held' Corinth, Argos and Nauplion 'on the part of the basileus of the Romans'.¹⁶ He was most likely to have exceeded his rights profiting by the breaking up of the central authority and by the fiscalization of the local administration. Thus he had opened piratical operations by himself and, by 'treachery' and force, put under his personal control Argos and Corinth, notwithstanding and because of the opposition of the metropolitan of Corinth, Nicholas.¹⁷ This behaviour was also incited by the punitive expedition of the *meḡas dux* Michael Stryphnos.

Though specious at first sight such an assumption is open to criticism from several directions. As has been pointed out the problem whether Corinthia and Argonauplia were one or two *horia*, and had respectively one (Corinth) or two centres, is still to be definitely solved. What is more, the contemporary sources did not mention Sgouros as 'archon'. J. Herrin even assumes that the fleet archons seemed to disappear towards the end of the twelfth century.¹⁸ Niketas Choniates presents Leo Sgouros as

14. Choniates, 605 l. 80 (332).

15. Brand, *BCH*, 152, 244; R. Radić, op. cit., 250 n. 14. Cf. Savvides, *MGEI*, 74.

16. *Chronikon*, vv. 1466-7 (111).

17. Choniates, 605 ll. 70-1 (332).

18. J. Herrin, 'Realities...', 279-80.

'a man of no consequence' at the beginning of his career and only the later Akropolites speaks of him as a «Κορίνθου ἄρχων», and later Skoutariotes writes that Sgouros in Corinth «κατάρχοντι».¹⁹ Yet the activity of Sgouros indicates an obviously not accidental order: Nauplion, Argos, Corinth, Athens, Thebes, that is the centres of the theme of Hellas and Peloponnese and its administrative subdivisions but not, for example, a southeast and southwest direction towards Monemvasia and 'the theme of Lakedaimonia'. The information that Sgouros had about the actions of the Daimonogiannes and Chamaretos families in these regions, together with the geographical factor, could be possible reasons for such an order of activity.

The elimination of the above question-marks may be facilitated to a great extent by an attempt to look for Sgouros' social background and objectives, as well as for its parallels. Scholars are not unanimous in this attempt either though most of them see Sgouros namely as being 'archon of Nauplion'; according to some of them — and of Argos and Corinth as well.²⁰ There are some reasons for such a statement in the polysemy of the term *archon* as a *terminus technicus* (though very often the denomina-

19. Choniates, 605 l. 69 (332). The references to Akropolites and Skoutariotes are given in n. 7 above.

20. On the thesis that Sgouros was archon of Nauplion and may be compared to John Chamaretos and the 'archon of Methone' see: Jacoby, 'Archontes', 424, 427 n. 25, 466-7; Hoffmann, *Rudimente*, 56, 95; J. Herrin, op. cit., 275-6; V. Konde, 'Συμβολή...', 122, 193 (see n. 113 on p. above); Kordoses, *Conquest*, 63, 64, 164, 166, 183; id., *Southern Greece*, 9; A.G.K. Savvides, 'Ἡ Εὐβοία...' 318 ('of Argolis and Corinthia') [see n. 53, on p. above]. Cf. id. *Μελέτες...*, 41; id., 'Strife', 272; id., *MGEI*, 74 ('archon of Nauplion and dynast-authentes of Argolis and Corinthia'); id., 'Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Θήβα...', 49 ('independent dynast of Argolido-Corinthia', 'succeeding his father as dynast and authentes of Argolidocorinthia'); id., 'Note', 289, 290 n. 5, 292-3 n. 21, 294, 295 ('archon and 'tyrant' of Argolis and Corinthia', 'local archon', 'Naupliote dynast', 'archontia, i.e. rulership of Nauplion, Argos and Corinth', 'lord of Argolis and Corinthia').

tion 'archon' is used by scholars without any 'technical' connotation), and especially in the shaping of the archons' stratum in the Byzantine provinces during the twelfth century. (See above Chapter I).

First, it should be noted that the family of the Sgouroi did not belong to the clan of the Komnenoi. It came into being in the middle of the eleventh century as a 'purely civil' one and kept its nature during the thirteenth century, too. Kazhdan's inquiry brings to light twelve representatives of this family which at the time of Alexios I was in the fifth, the last order of the Byzantine aristocracy, but later, through Leo Sgouros, entered the Angelos clan. Although A. Kazhdan does not specify the ethnogeographic origin of the family, the roots of Leo Sgouros in Nauplion seem to have been established. One Damiano Sgurothoma, a cowherd (sic!) of the same town, is mentioned in a document from the castellany of Corinth dated in the sixties of the fourteenth century; some ten years earlier a certain Sgouro lived in the area of Lechaina (in Elis).²¹

The origin of the Sgouroi (provided that one single family is concerned) and the succession from father to son come to be grave obstacles to the above-mentioned hypotheses (that Sgouros had been an archon of a *horion*) since thus his father might have been active at the time of the Komnenoi as well. It is worth noting, however, that at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century the form of the address to «ἄρχοντες Κομνηνοί» kept the epithet of «πανευγενέστατος».²² One should

21. J. Longnon - P. Topping, *Document sur le Régime des terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIVe s.* (Paris, 1969), no. IX: 179 ll. 5-6, 190 l. 8, 191 l. 6, 177 n. 60; cf. no. V:119, 120 l. 20 and Appendice I, 226. On the Peloponnesian origin of the Sgouroi, see: Miller, *Essays*, 54; Savvides, *MGEI* 73-4. The Peloponnesians seem to have had quite curly hair. The Moreot family of the Sgouromalloi(!) is well-known. Cf. D.I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (Univ. of London, 1968), 176-7.

22. P. Magdalino, 'Byzantine Snobbery', in *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 63.

also take into consideration the facts already mentioned in the previous chapter. Most of the representatives of the 'civil' aristocracy had immovable property in the towns while the great estates were an exception — probably the Chalkoutzes family had some.²³ Sgouros' activity in 1198 suggests that he did exercise some official functions while later the title of *sebastohypertatos* — only a degree higher than the title of *sebastos*, put him close to the group of the provincial landowners ('and officials?').

In view of the material discussed in Chapter I it seems not a mere accident to discover Leo Sgouros in the *Chronicle of Morea* as «μέγας ἄνθρωπος καὶ φοβερὸς στρατιώτης» (v. 1464); «φρόνιμος καὶ βέβηλος» (v. 1488);²⁴ «ἐπαινετός ... στρατιώτης» (v. 1528), and not as *archon*. Doxapatres Boutzaras, the defender of the fortress of Araklovon — imposing over the drongos of Skorta, comes also to have been «μέγας στρατιώτης» (vv. 1759-63). If «μέγας ἄνθρωπος» is paralleled by Villehardouin's phrase 'halz hom' (para. 301) as well as by Sgouros' qualities — 'mult sage et engineous' (para. 331), then what is the meaning of «μέγας στρατιώτης»? In any case not that of a 'pronoiar'.²⁵ Nor it is likely that Sgouros was a "distant forerunner of the later *stradioti*

23. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 92, 111-2, 113-4, 154, 177-8, 198-9, 204; id., 'Centrostromitel'nye i centrobežnye...', 15.

24. The French version gives one single definition of Sgouros ("seignor/sires de Corinthe, d'Argues et de Naples") — "vaillans (homs)", "apeleres" ('brave' — paras. 96-70 & n. 1). According to P. Kalonaros (p. 63) and H. Lurier (p. 112 n. 11) «βέβηλος» is a translation of "vaillans" interpreted as villain. Cf. *Cronaca*, 423-4: "un Capitano egregio soldato Luogotenente de Coranto, Argo e Napoli... savio e astuto ... famoso e valente soldato".

25. It is worth noting that the toponym Πρόνοια is attested in the vicinity of Nauplion. The census of 1879 gave the figure of 6355 for the population of the town together with the suburb of Pronoia. But the Venetian census of 1700 did not mention the latter: V. Panayotopoulos, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί...*, 187, tab. 24, 291. Cf. G. A. Choras, 'Ἡ πρόνοια προάστειο τοῦ Ναυπλίου', *P* 16 (1985-6), 537. Contra: M. Dendias, 'Contribution...', 354 n. 2 (see n. 84 on p. above): 'the village of Pronoia in the vicinity of Nauplia'. On the meaning

most of which came from the area of Nauplia"²⁶: the late Italian version of the *Chronicle of Morea* still preferred 'soldato' to 'stradioto'. It is also highly improbable that Sgouros was conceived as a knight, though some sides of his behaviour do not utterly exclude this possibility. Recent excavations in the northern sector of Akronauplia, in the site of the church of St. Theodore, laid bare the remnants of three churches dated to the eleventh – thirteenth centuries, the middle of which has probably been dedicated to St. Theodore Stratelates.²⁷ It is difficult to say whether the Sgouroi in Nauplion considered the saint to be their patron, but Leo Sgouros himself seems to have done so. His already mentioned lead seal, now in the Athens Numismatic Museum, is of great interest in this respect, the *invocatio* being to St. Theodore (Stratelates?): «Σεβαστοῦπέρτατον, Μάρτυς, με σκέποις / Λέοντα Σγούρ(ω)ν ἐκ γένους κατηγμένον».²⁸ It is also interesting to note that the effigy of the same saint appeared for the first time on coins in the reign of Manuel I Komnenos: with curly (sic!) hair, military clothes and arms in hand (a sword, a shield, a lance). The effigy of St. Theodore Stratelates is also to be found on three coins of Theodore I Lascaris; the excavations of 1896-1939 alone uncovered 21 coins of this ruler of Nicaea. D. Metcalf even thinks that for the most this type of coin was probably minted in Corinth, between 1204 and 1210.²⁹

of the term *stratiotes* regarding the petty farmers in the Peloponnese ca. 1320, see: B. Ferjančič, 'Quelques significations du mot stratiote dans les chartes de basse Byzance', *ZRVI* XXI (1982), 101. On the status of the *stratiotai* according to the legal sources (most of them appear as pronoiars), see: M.C. Bartusis, 'On the Status of Stratiotai During the Late Byzantine Period', *ibid.*, 53-9, esp. 59.

26. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 65.

27. V. Konde, op. cit., 194. There is a passage in Choniates (p. 76 ll. 85 ff.) which tells the popularity of the same saint in Corinth during the second half of the twelfth century. Cf. the commentary of H. Magoulis in *O City...*, 377 n. 217.

28. V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Athens, 1932), 116: no. 328. Cf. recently Savvides, *MGEI*, 75; id., "Note", 295.

29. D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage in the Balkans, 820-1355* (Thessaloniki, 1965), 223:

The version of Sgouros' death given in a fifteenth-century source is quite impressive as well: in late 1208 or early 1209 "in order to escape the state of slavery" he leapt on horseback from the inaccessible Akrocorinth.³⁰

Yet it is more likely that in the case considered 'stratiotes' means 'warrior'; such a meaning does not contradict the facts mentioned above and can be deduced from the phrases in which the word is used.³¹

The expressions «μέγας ἄνθρωπος» / "halz hom" are of still greater interest all the more that Villehardouin considers Sgouros and Michael Doukas in the same light; and Valenciennes (para. 584) represents the former's possessions as "toute la terre l'Argut et quanques il i apent".³² We should also recall Villehardouin's narrative (para. 325 [85]) about the Greek man in the region of Methone who was 'a great lord of the land'. These data, compared to the biased stories of Michael and Niketas Choniates, give the

However, as we saw the most probable centre of the Greek mint-house was Thebes and not Corinth and there copper coins were minted. On the coin effigy of St. Theodore Stratelates and the coins of Theodore I Laskaris, see: M. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261* (Washington, 1969) 69, 438, 422, 423 pls. 30:2-3, 4-6, 7-10, 31: 6-7, 8-9, 10. On the seal effigies (on seals of both military and civil officials) of Stratelates and Tyrones, see: Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 133-4.

30. 'Petitions', 288. The translation is after Savvides, 'Note', 291. There exists a second version of Sgouros' death known to J.-A.-C. Buchon in 1846 and later borrowed from him by M.G. Lambrynidis. It claims that Sgouros withdrew to Nauplion (after his attack from Akrocorinth upon the besieging crusaders) and was killed by a Lombard knight in a skirmish outside its walls. Sgouros was buried by his widow and the local archons in the city's Metropolis. Cf. recently A.G.K. Savvides, *Μελέτες...*, 125 n. 153; id., *MGEI*, 76; id., 'Note', 293-4. It must be remembered, however, that Sgouros' wife, Eudokia Angelina, is mentioned by Choniates (p. 611 l. 30-5 Lo) after the capture of Akrocorinth by the Franks (late 1209 or early 1210) as «ἐς τὴν ἔω» (Nicaea) «διαπλωῖται». Cf. Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 32.

31. Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 81.

32. Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, 'Aux origines du despotat d'Épire et de la principauté d'Achaïe', *B* 43 (1973), 371.

clue to the understanding of the real social nature of the 'phenomenon Leo Sgouros'. In a letter of 1208 to his nephew George, treating the murder of the latter's son by Sgouros, the ex-metropolitan of Athens rated the killer's villainies to be greater than those of the 'Italians' (the army of Boniface of Montferrat) who 'tyrannized' the Athenians.³³ The spiritual relationship expressed in Sgouros' addresses to Michael had obviously been overshadowed by his blameworthy behaviour. Niketas Choniates openly speaks of Sgouros' tyranny that affected not only the archbishops. After the narrative about the events that followed Easter, 1206 he indignantly condemns those who «κακοδαίμονας τυραννίδας περιέβαλοντο...»: Leo Sgouros in Corinth and Nauplion, Leo Chamaretos, 'holding sway over the vale of Lakedaimon, was tyrant over the Laconians. Aitolia and the lands adjacent to Nikopolis, as well as those extending to Epidamnos, were in the possession of Michael... Yet another man occupied the highlands above Thessaly which now are called Great Vlachia and ruled over the inhabitants there... first among the Roman tyrants was Leon Sgouros'.³⁴ It is true that the expression 'tyrannos' is not quite clear to illustrate what was the way Sgouros had used to become an absolute ruler of Nauplion. But the common Byzantine notion of 'tyranny' generally revealed illegal seizure of power (e.g. by rebels against the legitimate Emperor) and therefore had a negative connotation; or otherwise was applied neutrally about a foreign ruler/absolute monarch. A second semantic level probably came from the ancient idiom when between the seventh and the fourth century B.C. it was synonymous with *basileus* and *anax* but with harsher shades of meaning.³⁵

33. Akominatos, 2:169 l. 25 ff.

34. Choniates, 637 l. 38-638 ll. 56 ff. (350). Cf. Akominatos, 2:185 ll. 2-5.

35. Hoffmann, *Rudimente*, 96; Savvides, 'Strife', 237-8, 256; J.L. O'Neil, 'The Semantic Usage of Tyrannos and Related Words', *Antichthon* 20 (1986), 40; Sovetov *i rasskazy...*, 447-8 (n. 181), 497 (n. 812); R. Radić, op. cit., 247-8, 252. In the context of the passage of Choniates the assumption of H. Kalligas (*Monemvasia*,

And so: Leo Sgouros did not inherit from his father the archonship of Nauplion (we mean here the technical sense of the word) but rather became like him dynast of the town ca. 1198. His family ought to have possessed some patrimonial lands in the area. After his abortive attempt to take the acropolis of Athens Sgouros 'carried off those animals suitable for the yoke and as food'³⁶ which points to the existence of land estates (his own and newly acquired?) at his disposal. Perhaps Sgouros' official function while participating in the levy of the *ploimoi* opened a way for him to strengthen his own position.³⁷ The abuse of his powers turned him at first into an absolute master of Nauplion (ca. 1200?).

Manuel Kamytzes' activities in Thessaly in the summer of 1201 might have really 'encouraged' Sgouros in his own deeds. It seems to us, however, that the latter had taken possession of Argos before 1202 — on the 'grounds' that 'the Argives shared the same borders'.³⁸ And Sgouros had certainly gained control over the area of Corinth before the end of 1201; his raids in Attica after 1198-1199 might have been a possible reality. In the above mentioned letter (see n. 10) to Constantine Tornikes Sgouros appears as «τὰ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ ἤδη κατεργασάμενος καὶ τῇ Ἀττικῇ σφοδρότερον προσβάλλει νῦν ἢ πρότερον». Then followed Michael Choniates' appeals for assistance from Constantinople and the 'plotting' of the metropolitan of Corinth that resulted in the campaign of the *megas dux* Michael Stryphnos against

147-8) that Leon Chamaretos was "archon" of the Lakons is not plausible, notwithstanding the accent put on the neutral κρατῶν and the reference to O'Neil (whom she takes for N. Oikonomidès).

36. Choniates, 608 ll. 42-3 (333).

37. Angold, 'Archons', 243; *TIB*, 1 (Koder), 68; Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 81; id., 'Plemstvo' 119.

38. Choniates, 606 ll. 92-3 (332-3). On Kamytzes see A.G.K. Savvides, 'Τὸ κίνημα τοῦ Μανουὴλ Καμ(μ)ύτζη-Καμύτση στὴ Β.Δ. Μακεδονία καὶ στὴ Θεσσαλία στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 13ου αἰ.', *Θεσσαλικὸ Ἡμερολόγιο* 12 (1987), 148 ff.

Nauplion (1201-2). After its failure Sgouros became full master of Corinth (1203?).³⁹

Being 'tyrant' of Nauplion and Corinth Sgouros appeared as an independent magnate who already had at his disposal his own troops, warships and siege engines.⁴⁰ He did not feel himself bound up with Byzantium and acknowledged that 'advantage dictates the use of might'.⁴¹ The narratives of Niketas (638, 11. 52-

39. Savvides, 'Strife', 258 n. 1, 272: Nauplion became autonomous ca. 1200. To our knowledge a few scholars (Brand, *BCH*, 152, N. Oikonomidès, 'La décomposition...' 17 and indirectly M. Hendy, *Studies*, 437) claim that the capture of Argos happened before 1202. R. Radić (op. cit., 249 n. 10, 250 n. 15) points out that the event was certainly posterior to the summer of 1201 and puts the expedition against Corinth in 1202, the campaign of Stryphnos in 1202-3 and the appeals of Choniates as predicting the future siege of Athens by Sgouros. Brand does not make any connection between these appeals and Stryphnos' expedition. According to him they followed the murder of the metropolitan of Corinth but failing, were in their turn followed by a brief, again fruitless, journey of Michael to Constantinople (about 1202). Such a course of events seems a little bit too 'crowded'. On other dating of these events (1202-3), see: Hoffmann, *Rudimente*, 57; *TIB* 1 (Koder), loc. cit.; H. Magoulias, op. cit., 332 while V. Konde, op. cit., 172 dates the capture of Argos and Corinth in 1203 and 1204 respectively. Cf. recently Savvides, *MGEI*, 75 (the same dating) but id., 'Note', 290 n. 5: Argos and Corinth were taken in or before 1202. It is not clear why D. Smolitskaja in her commentary on Villehardouin's translation in Russian identifies "Naples" with Apros in Thrace and therefore makes Sgouros 'ruler of Corinth and Apros' since 1202: Žofrua djo Vilarduen, *Vzjatie Kontstantinopolja. Pesni truverov* (Moscow, 1984), 279, 281.

40. About Sgouros as magnate, see: *Sovety i rasskazy...*, 723 (cf. 89); Ferluga, 'Plemstvo', 122; N. Oikonomidès, op. cit., 17, 18; Carile, *Storia*, 138; D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge etc., 1984), 2 ('local dynast'). R. Radić (op. cit., 282, 288) considers Leo Sgouros, Theodore Mankaphas, Manuel Maurozomes, Sabbas Asidenos and certain members of the Petraliphas family to have been "typical local magnates". On the other hand, he points to the case of Leo Sgouros as being "the most complex" one (281). Cf. *ibid.*, 247-8 where Sgouros is also compared to Senacherim and Michael Doukas. R. Radić uses the phrase 'local archon' with regard to Sgouros only once (254).

41. Choniates, 606 ll. 9-11 (333).

6) and Michael Choniates represent Sgouros' rule as being quite repugnant: '... no one has fled to such a fellow Greek [Sgouros] from the cities enslaved by the Italians ... Indeed, as many as are able to escape from this man's garrisons desert to the Latins with a glad heart, as if they were departing from hell itself ... For where are so many of the inhabitants of Argos, Hermione and Aegina? Where are the prosperous citizens of Corinth? Has not everyone departed, unseen and unheard of? But indeed the Athenians and Thebans [under Latin domination] and Chalcidians and those who live along the coast remain at home and have not yet fled their dwellings.'⁴² But Geoffrey of Villehardouin gives a somewhat different picture: '... Leon Sgure would in no wise come under the rule of the marquis ... He then refused to surrender, but began to make war against the marquis, and a very great many of the Greeks held with him.' (para. 301 [79]). The behaviour of the Corinthians in the first days of the Frankish conquest speaks for itself about the local backing of Sgouros' activity. But the easy progress of Boniface's army in Boeotia, Attica and Euboea certainly had some of its reasons in the resentment of the local population against Sgouros' raids and brief administration there.

The lack of real authority to the north of the Isthmos and the predicament of Constantinople after the first attack of the crusaders (17 July 1203) gave Sgouros the chance to enlarge his possessions, all the more that he had been active in those regions before. There is a famous passage in Niketas Choniates (606 ll. 11-2 [333]), cited in part above, that is usually referred to when dating Sgouros' attack and siege of Athens to have happened after 12-13 April 1204: 'But Sgouros did not hide the threat of force and urged everyone to acknowledge that advantage dictates

42. Akominatos, 2:170 ll. 5-15. The English translation is after D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago etc., 1984), p. 373, no. 281.

the use of might, as was demonstrated by the worst possible evils suffered by the crowning glory of all cities.' Yet another passage in the same source (609 l. 84 - 610 l. 88 [334]) leads to a somewhat different conclusion: 'The presiding bishop of the city, as he had done *earlier* with Sgouros, had hoped to persuade the marquis to withdraw, but he judged *that this was not the time to offer resistance, inasmuch as the queen of cities had fallen* and the shadow of the Latin lance was cast over both the western and eastern parts of the Roman empire ...' It is possible that the siege of Athens had taken place after January, 1204 but in all probability before 12 April 1204.

One may think that the failure at Athens urged Sgouros 'some days later' to assault the administrative centre of the theme, 'Thebes of seven gates, and after taking the city at first assault he largely pushed ahead'.⁴³ The thought of usurpation was probably not alien to Sgouros' plan but he aspired most to the domains of the Empress Euphrosyne in Thessaly.⁴⁴ After the fall of Con-

43. Hoffmann, *Rudimente*, 57-8. Cf. Savvides, *MGEI*, 76, (1202-1203) but also *ibid.*, 75 (1203-4); *id.*, 'H βυζαντινὴ Θῆβα...', 50 (1202-3); *id.*, 'Note', 290 (1202-3). In accordance with the dating of the *Partitio* N. Oikonomidès (op. cit., 17, 18, 21, 22) points out that already in September 1203 Boeotia and Euboea were under the control of Sgouros and therefore were excluded from the last Byzantine tax levy. It is true that later dating (especially after 12 April) creates obstacles to the co-ordination of the terminus ante quem 9 May for the *Partitio* and the changes in the two regions. Perhaps the failure of Sgouros' attempt against the centre of Attica, notwithstanding his previous activity in the region as a whole, made possible its allotment to the *peregrini*. About Sgouros' possessions in Euboea, see: A.G.K. Savvides, 'H Εὐβοία...', 318; *id.*, *MGEI*, 75 (1204 — after the capture of Thebes Sgouros took a great part of Phocis and most of Euboea including Euripos); *id.*, 'Note', 290; É. Malamut, 'Les îles de la mer Égée de la fin du XI^e s. à 1204', *B* 52 (1982), 349 (between 1202 and 1204). On the other dating of the siege of Athens, after 12/13 April 1204, see: R. Radić, op. cit., 249-50 (late summer/autumn of 1204); A.G.K. Savvides, 'H βυζαντινὴ Θῆβα...', 50; *id.*, 'Note', 290 (August/September 1204).

44. *TIB*, 1 (Koder), 68. Thessaly however did not belong to Sgouros when the Treaty of Partition was being prepared. According to R. Radić (loc. cit.)

stantinople the Peloponnesian magnate passed the Thermopylae and 'descended to Oeta and then came to Larissa where he met Emperor Alexios [III]... here Sgouros became the husband of his daughter Eudokia'.⁴⁵ The marriage was mutually advantageous for both father- and son-in-law and probably led to the recognition of Sgouros' possessions by Alexios III. A similar action was not an innovation in the latter's dealing with Byzantine provinces and it may explain the statement of the Greek version of the Chronicle cited above (vv. 1466-7). We have not at our disposal any details about the break between Alexios and Sgouros after the marriage, a break that cost the former his freedom and insignia. The site might have been Thessaly or Corinth.⁴⁶

In the light of the above account the personality and appearances of Leo Sgouros seem not to represent the type of 'archontic bearing' as historiography assumes by tradition but rather the activity of a landed magnate — probably coming from the group of the so called 'dynasts'. He rose by imposing his power over Argonauplia and Corinthia and by climbing the ladder of the imperial hierarchy up to his marriage into the family of the Angeloi. Nothing in his activity suggests the existence of a 'national Greek party'. Sgouros obviously demonstrated that he was uncommitted to the old political regime and pursued his own socio-political interests. The territories that he controlled at the zenith of his might (August-September 1204) formed an independent small state.

The centrifugal trends of the late twelfth century had their backing in the provincial town centres and were embodied in the rise of local magnates — independent rulers, especially on the outskirts

Sgouros appeared in Thessaly in the late summer/autumn of 1204. Cf. A.G.K. Savvides, 'Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Θῆβα...', 50 (in the beginning of the autumn of 1204).

45. Choniates, 608 ll. 47-51 (333).

46. On Thessaly, see: Kordoses, *Conquest*, 71-2. Contra: Carile, *Storia*, 225-6. On Corinth, see also: Longnon, *Compagnons*, 232.

of the Empire. Sgouros' small state, its centre being the triangle Nauplion - Argos - Corinth, was a product of his time. Sgouros, like Michael Doukas, preferred the state of independence because he had nothing to gain from an alliance with the Franks.⁴⁷ At the time when the Komnenoi clan became restive and, moreover, the civil aristocracy as well, the Sgouroi appeared to be the only civil family that aspired to the foundation of a Territorialstaat; perhaps here we may also add the Chamaretoi although their origin and social nature are not quite clear.⁴⁸

In November - December 1204 the small army of Boniface of Montferrat took with ease Thessaly, Boeotia, Attica and central Euboea. The Latins had some Greeks to help them side by side, and Boniface, married to Isaak II Angelos' widow, had proclaimed the latter's son, Manuel, Emperor. At first Sgouros 'stood guard' at Thermopylae, but soon he had to withdraw to the south where the terrain and some more warriors, he thought, might give him certain advantages. 'As the marquis led the army into Boeotia he was enthusiastically received by the Cadmeans as though he were returning home after a long absence.' The crusaders crossed the Isthmos and entered the real domains of the 'tyrant'. Thus

47. Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 82, 85; Hoffmann, *Rudimente*, 58 passim; *TIB*, 1 (Koder), loc. cit.; Bon, *Morée*, 55; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 73, 183; A.P. Kazhdan, 'Centrostromitel'nye i centrobezhnye sily...', 3.

48. Id., *Sostav*, 169, 171, 206-7: he ranks in this group the Aspietai in Philippopolis (they were out of the Komnenos clan), the Maurozomes in western Asia Minor (they were out of the Komnenos clan as well), the Branades in Didymoteichon and Adrianople (they were in the clan but in relationship with the Angeloi). We may add here the *protostrator* Manuel Kamytzes too — in Thessaly and western Macedonia (the Kamytzes were members of the Komnenos clan). Cf. Savvides, 'Strife', 266, 272; id., *MGEI*, 74; R. Radić, op. cit., 251 (Sgouros is compared with Theodore Laskaris), 280 (with Manuel Maurozomes, Sabbas Asidenos and Nikephoros Kontostephanos), 286. On the early history of Michael Doukas, see: R.-J. Loenertz, op. cit., 393 (in summary); D.M. Nicol, op. cit., 1 ff. On the Chamaretoi, see below.

in the early winter of 1204/1205 the conquest of northeastern Peloponnese began.⁴⁹ It was only then that Boniface's army met vigorous resistance. Corinth was the 'key' to the whole peninsula of the Peloponnese.⁵⁰

The marquis was soon convinced that he would not be able to take Akrocorinth by assault or after a siege of short duration. This was indeed one of the strongest natural fortresses in Europe at that time. Therefore Boniface left some of his troops under the command of James of Avesnes to continue the siege. With the rest he gained control of the Hagionori pass and descended to the Argolid plain. The *chora* of Argos was taken almost immediately while at the same time or a little later Nauplion was besieged. Thus northern Argolis from Damala to Hagionori was taken without striking a blow. Meanwhile the knights of James of Avesnes had to repulse the sally of Sgouros down from Akrocorinth by themselves. To prevent losses in future sallies they built the small fortress of Penteskoufi (Mont Escovée) on the sheer height west of Corinth.⁵¹

The siege of Nauplion dragged out. By the end of the winter a weak support suddenly appeared under its walls: it was the future Prince of Achaea, Geoffrey of Villehardouin, with his knights.

As early as November or December the 'wind of chance' took the nephew of the Marshal of Romania to Methone in Messe-

49. Choniates, 609 ll. 81-2 (334), 604 l. 59-605 l. 64; Villehardouin, paras. 301, 324, 389. *Livres*, paras. 95 ff.; *Libro*, paras. 92 ff.; *Chronikon*, vv. 1457 ff.; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 88 ff.

50. Buchon, *Recherches*, 156; George Sphrantzes, *Chron. Min.*, XXXVIII.3 (ed. by V. Grecu [Bucharest, 1966]): 110 l. 8; *Chronikon*, vv. 1445-50; Cheetham, *Greece*, 58; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 77. Villehardouin (para. 324 [85]) gives his competent opinion that Nauplion and Corinth were 'two of the strongest cities in the world'.

51. O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in 'fränkischer' Zeit* (Graz, 1966), 50. We cannot be sure exactly when and by whom the fortress was built. Cf. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 116. On another representation of the events, see: B. Hendricks, op. cit., 383 (n. 3 above).

nia.⁵² There he came with his ship after sailing from Syria to Constantinople at the news of her capture by the crusaders. Being forced to spend the winter in the country the bold and quite noble knight made good use of the offer of the local Byzantine "seigneur" and conquered the greater part of the land with him. The problems about the identification of that "seigneur" and the territory occupied by the two lords in the winter of 1204-1205 have not yet been solved. A great part of the scholars, relying on the information about the estates of that family in the area, think that this might have been John Kantakouzenos; others, as it became clear, consider him to have been the archon of Methone.⁵³ The context suggests that this may be the case of a big feudal lord but Villehardouin's silence about his personality makes us think that he had no official functions.

How far did the lands occupied by him with the assistance of the knights stretch on? Villehardouin's allegation, when he had already arrived in the camp of the Marquis, that he came from a land being very rich which was called 'Morea' directs us to Western Peloponnese and in no case to the lowland of Sparta, as is alleged by H. Kalligas. It cannot be ruled out that the 'landing' described in the Chronicle of Morea as made by William of Champlitte is a resonance of Geoffrey of Villehardouin's arrival in Western Peloponnese: he may have conquered the district which according to the Chronicle the Viscount of Dijon had subjected before his arrival in Corinth(?).⁵⁴

52. Villehardouin, para. 325 ff.; R.-J. Loenertz, op. cit., 386; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 33, 252; B. Hendrickx, op. cit., 379; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 91 ff.

53. I. Božilov (op. cit., in n. 5 above, p. 150 n. 76) asserts that this was the caesar John Kantakouzenos, son-in-law of Isaak II Angelos. Cf. Savvides, 'Strife', 273; id., *Μελέτες...*, (about an archon of Methone having the same name). H. Kalligas (*Monemvasia*, 151-2) attempts to prove that the father of Leo Chamaretos is concerned here, whom she considers to have been "archon of Monemvasia".

54. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 91-3. It should be emphasized that Geoffrey of Villehardouin arrived from Syria at Methone having no information on the clauses

Unfortunately the seigneur fell ill and died and his son rebelled against Villehardouin and betrayed him; the castles which they had taken turned against him, too. It is not known where Geoffrey was at the time of the revolt and whether there remained any lands in French hands after that. But it is very likely that after conquering a great part of Western Peloponnese Villehardouin may have departed from his base in Methone and with the danger threatening him have sought asylum in Boniface's camp at Nauplion. 'So he went towards him with as many men as he could collect' and rode across the country about six days long. It is quite possible that Geoffrey had used the round-about road along the coast across Patras and Corinth.

In the camp of the Marquis Villehardouin met his very good friend William of Champlitte. He quickly persuaded him in favour of a march to the quite rich Morea. After Champlitte got the Marquis' consent, the two, taking 'with them about a hundred knights and a great number of mounted sergeants,' left for the north-west.⁵⁵ At the beginning of June, rather worried by his wife's letter about the operations of Kalojan in Macedonia, Boniface of Montferrat also abandoned Nauplion and set out for Thessalonica. Part of the crusaders' army headed by the 'seigneur of Athens', Othon of la Roche, besieged Akrocorinth.⁵⁶

The real conquest of the Peloponnese began with Geoffrey of Villehardouin's and William of Champlitte's campaign in the

of the Partition Treaty.

55. Villehardouin, para. 328 (86). Most scholars, referring to the next paragraph (on the battle of Kountouras), count the sergeants to have been 400. However, R.-J. Loenertz (op. cit., 329 n. 2, 387) claims that the four hundred Franks are those who had remained in Methone after Geoffrey started for Nauplion; later they joined him again. On a detailed commentary, see Chapter III.2.1 below.

56. A. Dančeva-Vasileva, op. cit. (in n. 6 above), 70; Bon, *Morée*, 204. M. Kordoses (*Conquest*, 124) thinks that a small detachment may have been left on guard at Argos.

spring of 1205.⁵⁷ The great problem in the early history of this 'crusade adventure', arising from contradictions in the sources, remains that of its initial point. We could label it 'Methone - Patras - Methone' (was that not related in some way to the *orium Patron et Methonis*?). Both towns were familiar in the West as was the name 'Achaia'. If we, however, make some accurate statistics about the reference in the sources, Methone would very likely take the upper hand. It is quite difficult to say whether any religious and psychological motives played some role in the mention of 'Achaia' and Patras in the *Chronicle of Morea* as the first to be occupied by the Franks. Was not St. Andrew, the brother of Simon-Peter, the first Apostle according to the tradition?!⁵⁸

Patras surrendered after a short siege during which trebuchets were used. The fortress was given up after an agreement with the crusaders — 'those in it should keep their property and houses' (vv. 1411-9). The inhabitants of the unfortified Andravida met the Franks with holy crosses and icons. There William of Champlitte was received as a 'Seigneur'. The archons and the population of the lowlands, as well as of the interior region around Akova bowed their heads, provided their property and previous positions were preserved. The campaign was made simultaneously also by sea, very likely with the help of Genoese ships. They went via the port of St. Zacharias, the location of the future Clarentza, and then occupied Pontikokastro, a small abandoned fortress near the cape of Katakolon. The Franks repaired it and called it

57. Villehardouin, para. 328; Choniates, 610 l. 6; *Livre*, paras. 105 ff.; *Libro*, paras. 106 ff.; *Chronikon*, vv. 1609 ff.; *Cronaca*, pp. 425-6.

58. R.-J. Loenertz (op. cit., 386-7), referring to the evidence of Villehardouin (paras. 329-30) and Choniates (637 l. 29), tried to revive the old thesis of Du Cange and Buchon that Geoffrey and William started the conquest from Methone. In my view (cf. 'Ἡ Πάτρα...', 533-4), the course that the *Chronicle of Morea* follows (Corinth-Patras-Andravida etc.) seems more acceptable. Most scholars are of the same opinion. Cf. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 94 n. 34.

Beauvoir. Now, according to the Aragonese version of the Chronicle (para. 110), they entered Skorta, the mountainous part of Western Peloponnese where the very strong fortress of Araklovon, "en franco Bucelet" was.⁵⁹ Its bold defender Doxapatres Boutсарas forced them to leave part of their troops for a continuous siege and the remainder went to Arkadiá (Kyparissia). Later, after the battle of Kountouras, the crusaders probably sent some reinforcement to Araklovon. It is not known when the fortress and its vicinity fell into their hands.

Some of the knights succeeded in getting into the exterior town (*bourkos*) of Arkadia but the fortress proved to be impregnable. Then the crusaders reached Port-de-Junch, at the end of the bay of Navarino, and Methone. There the army found the fortress destroyed by the Venetians since Greek pirate ships used the port as a base in their assaults against the Venetian fleet. The knights conquered also Korone, quickly surrounding the small fortress by land and sea and forcing its inhabitants to surrender after being promised to keep their property. According to Geoffrey of Villehardouin (para. 330), his nephew received Korone and its vicinity as a fief from William of Champlitte. The inhabitants of Kalamata, as soon as they heard that Korone had fallen, surrendered and in this way the Franks became masters of the Messenian plain in no time.

The problem of the fate of the rebellious son of that very great seigneur in the country remains open. If we follow Villehardouin's story we get the impression that 'Michael' who organized the sole armed resistance against Villehardouin's and Champlitte's campaign and came into open battle in the field of Kalamata (paras 328-9) was not "Michalis" (para. 301) — i.e. Michael (I) Doukas

59. Cf. V. Stavropoulos, "Αράκλοβο: Τὸ θρυλικὸ κάστρο τοῦ Βουτσάρᾳ", *Τριφυλικὴ Ἑστία* (1982), 32 pp.; M.S. Kordoses (*Conquest*, 98-9) locates the fortress 3 km southeast of Alvena.

Komnenos.⁶⁰ Could he be the son - 'traitor'? The comprehensive source data we have, make the identification of "Michalis" with 'Michael' as being more likely, the more so with the available pieces of information that Michael Doukas was probably *dioiketes* of the Peloponnese before April 1204.

The battle took place at the end of the summer or the beginning of the autumn. The forces of the Greeks came from Nikli and Veligosti in Arcadia, from Lakedaimon and from the region of Lakkos in Messenia. They were joined also by the infantry of the Melingoi from the Taygetos. 'Well over five thousand' gathered whilst the Franks were no more than 'five hundred', and according to the *Chronicle of Morea* the ratio was 4000:700 (vv. 1725, 1731). The Marshal of Champagne and of Romania was surprised by the great numerical strenght of the Greek and Slav forces, and certain scholars, in order to explain this, suggest there was co-operation between the Epirote ruler and the independent Peloponnesian feudal lords — Leo Sgouros, Leo Chamaretos or George Daimonogiannes.⁶¹ The concentration of the Greeks and Slavs took place near the Xerillas river which flows into Pamisos southwest of Thouria and the battle took place in the plain of Kalamata, «στὸν Κούντουραν ἐλαιῶνα» (v. 1724). The Franks fought the Greeks and completely destroyed them. They took many horses and weapons and other booty in very large quantities (Villehardouin, para. 329). Michael Doukas' defeat showed that the Greek army was unable to cope with the crusaders in a confrontation on level ground regardless of its numerical superiority.

After the battle the local inhabitants advised William of

60. Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, op. cit., 377-91. P. Magdalino ('A Neglected Authority...', 319) supposes that 'Michael' was the uncle of the despot John Chamaretos (see below). It seems to me that the passage in Villehardouin (para. 328) makes such a hypothesis almost implausible; it concerns the western part of the peninsula.

61. Bon, *Morée*, 62; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 103 ff., 106 n. 82, 102. (see *ibid.* on the topography of the battle).

Champlitte to disband his fleet and attack Nikli and Veligosti in central Peloponnese, which were key cities of all the Morea. The fleet was disbanded indeed, but the Franks went back to Arkadiá and Araklovon in order to subordinate them. The first fortress offered some serious resistance. The crusaders had to press against it with trebuchets from all sides. Against the well-known concessions in the long run that fortress also surrendered.

With Boniface's retreat to Thessalonica and the subordination of Western Peloponnese by William of Champlitte and Geoffrey of Villehardouin the first stage of the campaign ended. In the autumn of 1205 the crusaders controlled the lowland regions of the peninsula to the northeast and west. And this was by no means accidental. According to Niketas Choniates, after conquering Corinth and Argolis, the Franks did not continue to Laconia as they knew they were to meet with great resistance. The conquest of Achaia, Elis and Messenia were of paramount importance both for the furnishing of the cavalry and for the contacts with the West.⁶² It was quite natural that the centre of the administration should be established in Elis — in Andravida, in particular. All these features also determined my detailed presentation of the military operations during that stage.

The next phase, 1206-1212, marked the conquest of the three fortresses of Sgouros and of central Peloponnese to Lakedaïmon and its well-known vicinities. Despite the siege, Akrocorinth, as well as Argos and Nauplion, were supplied by sea by the ruler of Epiros.⁶³ In order to close the siege Othon of la Roche, probably on his own initiative, built a second *antiphourion* — the tower at the port of Lechaion in the Gulf of Corinth.⁶⁴ The

62. Bon, *Morée*, 104; Cheetham, *Greece*, 61, 62.

63. *Livre*, paras. 189 f.; *Libro*, paras. 210 f.; *Chronikon*, vv. 268-9; Choniates, 611 ll. 26-35; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 119 f. Cf. *ibid.*, 150-1 on the probability of Nicaean assistance.

64. On the identification, see: *ibid.*, 114-6.

hopeless position of the fortress brought Sgouros to despair and he committed suicide in late 1208 or early 1209. It is highly probable that after his death Michael I Doukas became master of Akrocorinth, Argos and Nauplion; Theodore (Michael's brother?) and Gabriel (Sgouros' brother?) also mentioned in the sources, might have been his 'frouriarchs'.⁶⁵ For the interventions of the ruler of Epiros in Peloponnesian affairs between 1207 and 1209 (in particular against the Franks in Patras and in his land) we judge from a letter of Pope Innocent III (31 October 1210). In it he writes about "Michailicius" and condemns the behaviour of the feudal lords who retained the incomes of the Church for when they had been preparing to wage war on him they had received Communion and had given just the opposite promises.⁶⁶ Probably the continuous pirate attacks of the Franks on the coast of Naupaktos were a serious reason for a similar conflict; they frequently used even catapults. John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos, in a letter to the bishop of Vonditsa, Nicholas, recounts that by 1217/1218 refugees from the town joined the Latins in Patras and taking advantage of the absence of the fleet came near using pirate ships and set the straw huts near Naupaktos on fire. The hostile piratic operations in the Gulfs of Patras and Corinth quite likely continued until later.⁶⁷

The *Chronicle of Morea* links the siege of Corinth with the

65. *Ibid.*, 53, cf. 137. On the history of the controversy over the lord of "Chorinthe" (Valenciennes, *Histoire*, para. 584), see: R. Radić, op. cit., 254 and Savvides, 'Note', 294: "It was this Theodore [Michael's brother] ... [who] eventually lost to the Franks the Acrocorinth (1209), Corinth (1210), Nauplion (1211) and Argos (1212)".

66. Innocent III, *Reg.*, XIII, in *PL* 216: col. 338; R.-J. Loenertz, op. cit., 378-9, 389, 393, 394; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 53, 137.

67. *Ibid.*, 138, 143; John Apokaukos, *Schriftstücke*, ed. by E. Bees-Sepherlis (*BNJ* 21 [1971-4], *Appendix*), (Athens, 1976), no. 99, p. 149 (on the dating see: *ibid.*, 233-4); ead., 'Νικόλαος, ένας ανύπαρκτος μητροπολίτης Θεσσαλονίκης του ΙΓ' αιώνα (1227-1234)', in *ibid.*, 280-6.



use of Venetian ships but wrongly transfers the events to the time of William II of Villehardouin. Such an assistance could arrive after the treaty between the Prince of Achaea and Venice, concluded in June 1209 on the island of Sapientza. At the end of the same, or the beginning of the following year Corinth fell. Recently M. Kordoses has expressed his supposition that the fortress was delivered to the Franks as a result of the agreement between Emperor Henry and Michael I Doukas Komnenos in the summer of 1209 and the subsequent negotiations. It is quite probable that at that time Theodore may have received Argos as a fief from the crusaders.⁶⁸

The conclusion of the war operations at Corinth brought about the renewal of the siege of Nauplion in the summer of 1210. The fortress held out for a year, and the preservation of its lowest part in the hands of the Byzantines was a precondition for its capitulation. In a letter by Pope Innocent III it becomes clear that before June 1212 Theodore handed over Argos where he had also taken the treasury of the Corinthian Church.⁶⁹ Geoffrey of Villehardouin kept Corinth as his personal possession. Argos and Nauplion were given to Othon of la Roche as feudal domains.

According to the same Chronicle William of Champlitte, having conquered Arkadiá, returned to his native country, and the Franks, led by Geoffrey of Villehardouin, directed themselves to Veligosti and Nikli.⁷⁰ The first town quickly surrendered but the inhabitants of Nikli resisted for three days until they capitulated under the condition now to keep their property. There came the time of Lakedaimon.

As we have mentioned, the 'theme of Lakedaimonia' according

68. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 122-3; Bon, *Morée*, 68; R.-J. Loenertz, op. cit., 391.

69. *Reg.*, XV, in *PL* 216: col. 598.

70. *Livre*, para. 117 f.; *Libro*, para. 144 f.; *Chronikon*, vv. 1791 f. On the location of Veligosti, see: Kordoses, *Conquest*, 107-8 (in the vicinity of Samara, near Leondari).

to the *Partitio* was ceded to Venice and was therefore, at least in September 1203 if not until later, under the control of the Empire. When was Leo Chamaretos in possession of the situated up in the mountains Lakedaimon while being already tyrant of the Laconians? The Chamaretos family became known in the second half of the twelfth century and was most active in the first two decades of the following one. If we judge by the legend of one of Leo Chamaretos' lead seals ('proedros of Lakedaimon'), there probably existed some relation of the family to the town administration. Although it is not included by A. Kazhdan in the table of families reaching high social status, the possessors of the title of *proedros* at the time of Alexios I Komnenos fell in the fourth grade of the aristocracy, and after 1118 to 1204, in the fifth one. It is rather strange why in the last period examined by the author (1180-1204), only *protoproedros* was listed in that grade without including the title of Chamaretos.⁷¹

It cannot be established when Leo Chamaretos received that title and what power he had despite the prevailing view that he was archon of Lakedaimon.⁷² The above-quoted passage from Choniates (638 ll. 41-3) gives no safe preference points in order

71. Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 97, 113, 115, 129-30, 154, 170, 177. On the Chamaretoi, see: N.A. Bees, *Οἱ Χαμάρετοι (Ἱστορικὸν καὶ γενεαλογικὸν σημείωμα)* (Athens, 1903), 16 p.; A. Savvides, 'Χαμάρετοι', in *MGEI* 54 (1988), 24-5. On the title *proedros*, see R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1967), 38, 182, 200, 266; H. Kalligas (*Monemvasia*, 148 n. 3) referring to N. Oikonomidès (*Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e ss.* [Paris, 1972], 299) assumes that the title had already been obsolete by the time (save for the church administration) and considers the possibility that the word was used in its initial meaning: 'a person who holds an office'.

72. A. Savvides, op. cit., 24; id., 'Strife', 272; id., *Μελέτες*, 41. According to him Leo declared himself independent in Sparta as early as 1200 and that was the time when the two lead seals now preserved appeared; he seemed later to have acknowledged the power of Alexios IV but after the capture of Constantinople broke off again (1204 - ca. 1206). Cf. N. Oikonomidès, 'La décomposition...', 18; Chr. Maltezos in *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, 39.

to accept the quite-often-shared supposition that Chamaretos, after the fall of the Byzantine capital, became an independent ruler in the region, which he had ruled before. His ties with the Laconians also are subject to numerous queries, the more so that in a passage which does not occur in all manuscripts and very likely referred to 1209-1210, Choniates again speaks about 'Chamaretos, a certain Laconian'. He ruled over the Lakedaïmon valley, while Gabriel, Sgouros' brother, held Nauplion; all the rest was subordinated to the Latins (611 ll. 30-5). Is this the same Leo Chamaretos or one of his kinsmen (son?)? In any case, there is no word here of a 'tyranny' over the Laconians, and the comparison of the two texts rather makes us think that by 'Laconians' Choniates means Spartans and not Tzakones, nor, as alleged by Kalligas — "inhabitants of the territory of Monemvasia". Consequently there existed no extension of Leo Chamaretos' power from Monemvasia to the Spartan plain.⁷³ The supposition that after 12 April 1204 he extended his domain to Arcadia and in particular to Eastern Messenia due to the nature of the relief is not very likely either: there are mountainous passes to the north and northwest, and the connection to Kalamata even today is not very popular.⁷⁴ It is sure, however, that he had control of the Spartan plain.

Leo Chamaretos' participation in the battle of Kountouras, if not personally, but through a reinforcement, is quite possible. The friendly relations between Theodore Komnenos and John Chamaretos point to the links of the Chamaretòi with Epiros; John was most probably Leo's son (see below).

The treaty between Venice and Geoffrey of Villehardouin concluded in Sapienza in June 1209 among other things commits the Champenois knight to subordinate Laconia by his own forces,

73. Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 148 ff.

74. Kordoses (*Conquest*, 103) expresses an opposite opinion but cf. *ibid.*, 104 n. 75.

with the exception of the Molaoi district which he already possessed.⁷⁵ Seemingly, in 1210-1211 Lakedaïmon was still free (in the hands of Leo Chamaretos or a kinsman of his) and surrendered only after the fall of Argos. For five days and nights the Franks attacked the city using trebuchets, and as they inflicted much damage and killed many of its inhabitants in the end the city surrendered.⁷⁶ Now the Franks were controlling practically the whole peninsula except for the greater part of Laconia. One is immediately impressed by the delay of the conquest at that stage. Probably this was due to the intervention of Michael I as well as the problems about William of Champlitte's departure and the appearance of the Venetians in the Peloponnese when they, in 1206-1207, conquered Methone and Korone. It seems that the Franks also used those years to penetrate into the mountainous areas of Achaëa and Arcadia.

The third stage of the conquest, 1213-1224, is related to the subordination of Laconia and the gradual weakening of the position of Epiros in the Peloponnese when pursuing the major goal of its rulers — to get back Constantinople. As early as after the conquest of Lakedaïmon, Geoffrey of Villehardouin began his assaults on Vatika, Helos and Tzakonia. A letter by the archbishop of Ochrid Demetrios Chomatianos (see above) reveals the resistance offered by the local despot John Chamaretos against the Latin advance. The letter poses many queries, in the first place about the personality of that despot. It is clear that this is a high Byzantine title and the whole context suggests (Chamaretos had this title before 1222) as probable the contact between John

75. H. Kalligas (*op. cit.*, 155) shares Bon's view (*Morée*, 69-70) about the difficulties that emerge if Mola was identical with Molaoi on the Maleas peninsula; it seems then highly improbable that the Franks could have been masters of an area which was so remote to their principal domain.

76. *Chronikon*, vv. 2052-3. Cf. Choniates, 610 ll. 7-8; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 110-1; Kalligas, *op. cit.*, 154; A. Savvides, 'Χαμάρετοι', 25.

and Alexios III, and all the more so after Sgouros' death. Most scholars think that he was the son of Leo Chamaretos and the letter supplies some information about a similar supposition. When the Latins invaded the Peloponnese, according to Chamaretos' very words, he was the only one among all who could resist and took a stand against them. (See above the cited passage of Choniates.) Even his father-in-law, George Daimonogiannes, did not change his pro-Latin positions and in the long run, together with his daughter, forced John to escape to Theodore Komnenos in Epiros (before December 1222). Quite controversial is the question of where this really happened. The Monemvasian origin of the Daimonogiannes is not supported by any other argument in favour of Monemvasia. More likely the events described had occurred in Mani (Gytheion — the natural port of Sparta, or in Old Maïna). Nevertheless, the letter lists Theodore Komnenos' plans to win back the Peloponnese which after the conquest of Thessalonica in 1224 remained in the background.⁷⁷

The more the influence of Epiros diminished in the peninsula, the more grew the prestige of Nicaea. The relations between Monemvasia and the state of the Laskarids in fact did not cease after 1204. It is possible that during the siege of Nauplion the town may have been supplied by sea using Monemvasian vessels. Due to the contacts with Nicaea, Tzakonia and Vatika could still

77. P. Gounarides (op. cit., 155 n. 4) considers John to have been the son of Leo while A. Savvides ('Χαμάρετοι', 25) suggests that they may have been brothers. Recently the hypothesis that the site of these events was the Mani has been reinforced: N. Drandakes in *Ἱστορικογεωγραφικά* 2 (1988), 189 proposes an explicit identification of the church mentioned in the letter as having been the episcopal church very close to the settlement of Ais-Giorgis. The controversy over Daimonogiannes may well take a step forward if a recent study of Chr. Maltezou ('Le famiglie degli Eudaimonoianis e Venier a Cerigo dal XII al XIV secolo', *RSBS* IV [1984], 207, 210) is taken into account. It shows that the activity of the Daimonogiannes family was not bound up only with Monemvasia. On Kordoses' view, see his *Conquest*, 129 ff. and on that of Kalligas — *Monemvasia*, 156.

remain free territories, and the rule of the Franks in the Mani and the rest of Laconia was unstable. The inhabitants of the mountains in the free districts, especially the Slavs of the Taygetos, continuously attacked the Frankish possessions. When in 1246 William of Villehardouin became Prince of Achaia, Nicaea was at its apex and the liquidation of its base in the Peloponnese was extremely necessary. Thus began the last stage of the conquest of the peninsula.⁷⁸

The Principality concentrated all of its forces for the capture of Monemvasia inasmuch as the town had strong positions thanks to self-rule. It was not deliberate that it, as well as Cerigo (Kythera), were not included in the Treaty of Partition. William II asked support from Venice, the Seigneur of Athens and the Duke of Naxos, from the tertiaries of Negropont and the Count of Cephalonia. He invited all the 'captains of the principality of Morea, small and great', to gather their forces on the plain of Nikli. The town was besieged by land and sea: according to the *Chronicle* four Venetian ships closed it from the sea, but it is very likely that the fleet of the Prince was also employed. The fortress held for a few years: the *Chronicle* reports that the Franks remained under it «τρεῖς χρόνους γὰρ καὶ πλέον» (v. 2930), and the one local Petition to the Patriarch (of the fifteenth century) tells that the siege lasted seven whole years.⁷⁹ It is possible that Monemvasia surrendered not in 1248, as has been accepted until now, but only in 1252. Information about an unknown Latin bishop of the town exists as early as April 1252, but the well-known Odo of Verdun was elected in August 1253. The evidence in the *Chronicle of Morea* that in the siege trebuchets were used should be corrected as the relief in no case would permit their movement on the rock, and if an attempt had been made its personnel would

78. *Chronikon*, vv. 2889 f.; *Livre*, para. 202 f.; *Libro*, para. 213 f.; Kordoses, op. cit., 152 ff.

79. 'Petitions', 287 f.; Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 167.

have been stopped on the spot. Evidently, the author of the Greek version did not know these geographical details. Finally, the citizens, tortured by famine, surrendered by the "ceremony" which we already know; here Daimonogiannes, Mamonas and Sophianos participated. The conditions of the capitulation were quite exceptional by themselves: the Monemvasiotes should remain in their town forever, keeping their inherited property and goods as «Φράγκοι ἔγκουσάτοι». They should only be charged with the service of their boats but that should also be paid to them (vv. 2937-40). According to H. Kalligas, Villehardouin in actual fact accepted and renewed some of the old privileges of Monemvasia, which were probably finalized in a special chrysobull.⁸⁰ The three archons were met with great honours. Villehardouin presented them with horses and precious clothes and «ἐπρονοίασε» them in Vatika. But he did not distribute any fiefs in the area of Monemvasia with the exception of Geraki, which was occupied before the town surrendered. The fortress was, however, reinforced and a trusted garrison was put in charge.

Despite these unique treaty conditions, many of the Monemvasiotes preferred exile than foreign rule. They emigrated to Asia Minor, where the Emperor of Nicaea settled them in the city of Pegai, on the coast of the Hellespont. Not long afterwards the Orthodox bishop was also made to leave the town.⁸¹

After the occupation of Monemvasia Tzakonia and Vatika were soon conquered. In order to put an end to the resistance in the Taygetos, Villehardouin commenced the construction of three for-

80. *Ibid.*, 172, 174-6. Recent research points to the interesting toponym Λαλούδι της Μονοβασιάς, as a derivative of the frankish 'alloud' (*allodium*); there appears here a hint at the preservation of freedom and privileges by the Monemvasiotes. See: E. Kiga, 'Τὸ λαλούδι της Μονοβάσιας', *Δωδώνη* 14/2 (1985), 111-4. On Daimonogiannes, see: *PLP* 3 (1978), 5033. On Mamonas, see: A. Meliarakes, *Οἰκογένεια Μαμωνᾶ. Ἱστορική καὶ γενεαλογικὴ μελέτη...* (Athens, 1902), 157 p. 81. 'Petitions', 289-90.

tresses, thus enclosing the land of the Slavs: from the East with Mistra, from the South with Grant Maigne, and from the West by Leutron. Thus he wanted to force them down to the plains. These fortresses probably remained private possessions of the Prince.⁸² The Slavs sent envoys to William II with the request to be exempt from taxes and serve in his army as was during the time of the Byzantine Emperors (vv. 3024-9). This was the price of their obedience.

In the middle of the fifties the Franks now were the masters of the whole peninsula. But not for long. The laws of historical development of the European South-East and the geographical environment determined the lasting preservation of the power of the Franks in the districts which were the first and most quickly conquered. Only about ten years later the Byzantine "reconquest" would start from the territories that were last subdued.

2. The Principality of Achaia — 'the Heart of Romania'

The building of the new Latin state proceeded from the very first years of the conquest (1205 - ca. 1210). In a letter by Pope Innocent III of 19 November 1205 William of Champlitte for the first time was titled as "princeps totius Achaiae provinciae".⁸³ Such remained the official title of his successors, whilst in French they were called "princes de la Morée". The final settlement of the status of the Achaean Prince was made in May - June 1209. At that time the ruler of the Morea was Geoffrey

82. Medvedev, *Mistra*, 22 n. 61. On the location of Maïna, see Bon, *Morée*, 503-4 (south of Leutro, on Cavo Grosso). Cf. A. Failler in his edition of George Pachymeres (n. 4 on p. 18 above): p. 122-3 n. 3. On the Melingoi: M. Birnbaum, 'Noch einmal zu den slavischen Milingen auf der Peloponnes', in *Festschrift für H. Bräuer* (Köln, 1986), 15-26.

83. Innocent III, *Reg.*, VIII, in *PL* 215: col. 728. On the denomination "provincia Achaia" and the title of *princeps*, see: Longnon, *Empire*, 74; *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (1966), 391 n. 2; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1: 326-7; Ch. A. Maltezos, 'L'immagine della provincia bizantina...', 208-9.

of Villehardouin.⁸⁴ He arrived at the Parliament summoned on 1 May in Ravennika where Emperor Henry tried to solve the conflict with the Lombard barons of the kingdom of Thessalonica. In this particular place Villehardouin was recognized as direct vassal of the Latin Emperor and received the title of "Sénéchal de Romanie". Relations with Venice to which, according to the *Partitio* belonged the major part of the Peloponnese, were settled in the subsequent month by the treaty concluded on the island of Sapientza. Geoffrey of Villehardouin received that part, with the exception of Modon, Coron and the vicinity to the bay of Navarino, as a fief of the Venetian Doge. At the same time the Republic was entitled to customs-free trade in the whole Principality. The recognition of the ruler of Morea as vassal of Venice was purely theoretical but the treaty guaranteed him the support of his fleet in the future. By the end of 1209 or the beginning of the next year, Geoffrey of Villehardouin was officially titled "princeps Achaïe". Thus was formed the relative independence of Morea towards its suzerains which was preserved to the middle of the sixties.⁸⁵

On his part, the Prince of Achaëa became seigneur of the Moreot feudal lords. The distribution of the lands amongst them *de jure conquestas* was reflected in a special Register of the fiefs whence it got into the prototype of the *Chronicle of Morea*. By 1210 in general lines it seems to have been completed — probably in connection with William of Champlitte's departure, and then step by step the newly conquered lands and the occurring changes were

84. William of Champlitte died probably about the end of 1208 or the beginning of 1209 on his way back to the Peloponnese, having travelled to France in order to receive the inheritance of his brother Louis. On the government of the Principality in the meantime, see Longnon, *Empire*, 111 ff.; id., *Compagnons*, 211-2; Bon, *Morée*, 64-5.

85. On the details, see: Longnon, *Empire*, loc. cit.; id., *Compagnons*, 34-6; id. in *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289-1300* (Paris, 1967), 9 (introduction); Bon, *Morée*, 65-7.

included. The list which we find in the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle* depicts the realities by 1225, and in the Aragonese version — by 1260.⁸⁶ The possessions of the Prince himself in the middle of the century occupied considerable territories including the fortresses of Akrocorinth, Clairmont, Beauvoir, Arkadiá, Mistra, Leutron, Kalamata and Grant Maigne. His direct vassals and greatest feudal lords possessed baronies amongst which the major ones were Patras and Akova (Matagriffon) in Arcadia each having 24 knights' fiefs. The first one was in the hands of the Alemans — a family the ancestry of which was from Provence or Germany⁸⁷, and the second was given to the Rosières family of the County of Burgundy (or Franche-Comté). By degree of importance there followed the baron of Karytaina in Skorta of the Champenois family of Briel (Brières) having 22 fiefs. Also a Champenois family — that of the Durnays settled in Kalavryta (in Achaëa) with 12 fiefs. Eight fiefs had the barons of Vostitsa (between Patras and Corinth) of the Charpigny family (of uncertain ancestry).⁸⁸ Six fiefs each had the barons of Nikli and Geraki (in Laconia), the Morlay family of Meuse and the Burgundian Nivelet. The baronies of Chalandritsa (south of Patras), Gritsena (northwest of Kalamata), Passavant in Laconia and Veligosti included 4 fiefs each. They were possessed by the Dramelays (of Burgundy), by an unknown family, by the Nullys of Champagne and by the de Mons, superceded in Veligosti by the de la Roche about the middle of the century. The well-known Burgundian family also possessed Argolis. At the end of the fifties the baron

86. *Chronikon*, vv. 1912 f.; *Livre*, para. 128; *Libro*, para. 117 f.; *Cronaca*, 428-9; Jacoby, 'Archontes', 433; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1: 332-3. On the number of the baronies, see: Bon, *Morée*, 82 ff., 102 ff. Cf. Chr. Maltezou in *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους*, 249-50; Carile, *Storia*, 209-11.

87. On the Alemans in Patras in the first half of the thirteenth century, see: A. Ilieva, 'Η Πάτρα...', 540 f.

88. On the toponym Κερπινή, see: A.T. Fotopoulos, 'Απόπειρα έτυμολογίας της τοπωνυμίας Κερπινή', *PP* 10 (1974), 181-92.

of Mitopoli, Gilbert of Cors, is mentioned south of Chalandritsa; this barony obviously was not of the age of the conquest.

The Catholic Church also received landed properties: the prelates and the military orders ranked next to the barons in the feudal hierarchy of the Principality. The archbishops of Patras and Corinth received 8 fiefs each, and their suffragan bishops of Olena, Modon, Coron, Lakedaimonia, Nikli and Argos — 4 each. According to A. Bon the great feudal lords in the Principality owned some 200 knights' fiefs in total. The Prince of the Villehardouin family possessed no less in his domain in Corinthia, Elis, Messenia and Laconia.⁸⁹

The principle of land distribution between Venice and the crusaders concerning the possessions of the Byzantine Church was stated already in the Partition Treaty without, however, specifying exactly the share of the Catholic clergy. Thus, in the autumn of 1204, quite a large part of the Byzantine Church property was secularized. A compromise (which was to prove ineffective) between the Latin Patriarch and the Papacy, on one side, and Emperor Henry, on the other, was nevertheless reached at the Second Parliament of Ravennika (May 1210) for the territories that spread from Thessalonica to Athens.

In the domains of Othon of la Roche and the Prince of Achaea, however, the conflict became quite sharp and affected the administration of both secular and ecclesiastical power as a whole.⁹⁰ The attempts at making the secular feudal lords return the appropriated land, pay the tithes, and not treat the Greek priests as serfs, were not effective. Between 1213 and 1223 the Seigneur of Athens and the Prince of Morea were excommunicated

89. Bon, *Morée*, 114. After 1230 from the Princely domain the barony of Estamira was separated, with 22 fiefs held by the Champenois Geoffrey Chauderon.

90. Longnon, *Empire*, 164 ff.; R. Lee Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261', *DOP* VIII (1954) 255 ff.; Bon, *Morée*, 94 ff.; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 37 f.

by the Church on several occasions. Quite stubborn in that respect was Pope Honorius III (1216-1227). The *Chronicle of Morea* reveals another aspect of the conflict. After the refusal of the Prelates, the Templars and the Knights of the Hospital to co-operate, the Prince, in order to secure the protection of the Principality westwards, was compelled to confiscate their lands; and with the money he built the strong fortress Clairmont in Elis. Then he himself sent envoys to Rome for negotiations and the clergy restored its possessions.⁹¹ In fact, on 4 September 1223 the Pope reaffirmed the agreement between Geoffrey I of Villehardouin and the Church of Morea. The decisions of Ravennika came into force in Attica and the Peloponnese and some additional clauses were added. The Church returned all its lands which it had acquired by 1081, and the Prince kept the appropriated *res sacrae* against the payment of annual compensations distributed among the dioceses.⁹²

The administrative structure of the Moreot Church itself underwent a number of changes with practically the same inner chronological boundaries. On 11 March 1222 Pope Honorius III reaffirmed the changes made in it by his legate John Colonna, who received the power five years earlier "to divide and unite the Churches".⁹³ The first established archbishopric was that of Patras officially headed by Antelme ("natione Burgundie") between 1207 and 1241/13. After these changes under its jurisdiction in the Peloponnese came the bishops of Olena, Modon (to which half of the former Byzantine archbishopric of Christianoupolis was subjected), Coron (with the remaining half of Christianoupolis

91. *Chronikon*, vv. 2631-2720, but the episode by a mistake was related to the rule of Geoffrey II of Villehardouin.

92. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 39-40; id., *Empire*, 165-6; R. Lee Wolff, op. cit., 274; *CMH*, 4/1, 397; Bon, *Morée*, 96-7; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1: 337-8, 339. A similar agreement was signed by Othon of la Roche as well.

93. Bon, *Morée*, 97; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:339.

and with Veligosti), the Church of Kernitsa being amalgamated to that of Patras.⁹⁴

The first *Provinciale Romanus* of 1228, published by R. Lee Wolff, gives a rather different picture. After considering the corrections made by A. Bon, it runs as follows: the bishops of Olena, Modon, Coron, Cephalonia and Zakynthos were subordinated to the Patras archbishopric. "Amidensis" was in fact "Amiclen-sis" but in 1228 it was already under the supremacy of Lakedaimon the name of which was not known to the *Provinciale*. "Andrevillensis" figures as a separate bishopric.⁹⁵

One way or another, the Moreot Church received a relatively stable organization in the beginning of the 1230s. To the change, indicated by Bon, concerning the formation of the bishopric of Monemvasia (1252 - ca. 1262) as a suffragan of Corinth for the next several decades we should also add the removal of Patras' (and Constantinople's) jurisdiction from over the bishopric of Modon (17 July 1255).⁹⁶

94. The changes are treated by Wolff, 'Organization', 44 ff. Cf. the corrections of Bon, *Morée*, 97-9, 101, 453; Fedalto, *Chiesa* 1:339-40, 2:135. A. Bon considers Lakedaimonia to have been a suffragan of Corinth while G. Fedalto is of the opinion that it was subjected to Patras. Cf. his vol. 2: 37, 135; vol. 1: 372, 373; or was an archbishopric by itself; also: id., 'Annotazioni sui vescovadi Latini della Morea Franca e l'arcivescovado Latino di Corinto, durante il secolo XIII', in *Praktika* II/2 (Athens, 1981-2), 298, 299, 300. Cf. T. Gritsopoulos, 'Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία Κορινθίας' (Athens, 1972), 177; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 20; A. Ilieva, 'Η Πάτρα...', 538-40.

95. Bon, *Morée*, 99 n. 6, 101. G. Fedalto (1:329, 372-3; 2:39, 82, 182: referring to a letter by Gregory IX of 26 September 1236) accepts the correction of "Amidensis" but considers Andravida as a newly created bishopric although he, too, views the bishop of Olena as probably residing in the same centre.

96. Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:342, 2:145, 157; Bon, *Morée*, 99 n. 8. N.P. Sokolov ('Kolonial'naja politika Venecii v sfere cerkovnyh otnošenij', in *Strany Sredizemnomor'ja v epohu feodalizma* [Gor'kij, 1982], 58) claims that this decision concerned Coron as well and dates it ca. 1256?. Cf. Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 2:99 (Coronensis).

The Patras archbishopric remained first by rank even after the establishment of that of Corinth in May 1212. At the beginning the latter included the bishoprics of Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Damala, Argos, Zemena, Gilas (Helos?) and Malavesia. After the already mentioned acknowledgement of Pope Honorius III, the Zemena bishopric was merged with Corinth, as well as with half of that of Damala. The remaining half was added to the Argos archbishopric.⁹⁷

In regard to the military orders, according to the above-mentioned list in the *Chronicle of Morea* the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights received four fiefs each "de jure conquestas". We know nothing about where the domains of the Hospital were. The Teutonic knights settled «στὰ μέρη Καλομμά-τος» and established their seat at Mostenitsa in Elis; subsequently they acquired property in Andravida, Clairmont and lands near Veligosti. The Templars had land in Elis and Achaea. Of the remaining orders, in Morea settled (of course, not by the rights of conquest) the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Cistercians, the Carmelites, the Augustines, the Canons of St. Rufus, the Praemonstratensians. In the specialized literature their foundations have been fairly well studied. As the greatest concentration of Western monastic fraternities, the capital Andravida was naturally indicated, as well as Patras and its vicinity, Clarentza, and Messenia. Most active were the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic whilst the Cistercians had to confess their defeat despite the hopes of Pope Innocent III.⁹⁸

97. *Ibid.*, 44, 101, 111, 127-8, 135, 136; 1: 374-5; id., 'Annotazioni...', 301 ff.; T. Gritsopoulos, *op. cit.*, 176.

98. See Chapter III below. In general cf. Bon, *Morée*, 92, 10-102; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:466-9. On the Franciscans: A. Putignani, 'Gli ordini religiosi medioevali', in *Studi Francescani Selentini, Sezione storica* 4 (1970); J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origin to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968). On the German orders: F. Rühl, 'Der deutsche Orden in Griechenland', in *Nord und Süd* 89 (1899), 327-41 (inaccessible).

The settlement of the conflict between the Prince and the Church stabilized the internal affairs of the Principality. At the end of the twenties it gradually emerged as the most considerable Frankish domain in Romania, having fairly stable resources and structure. The centre of the Latin Empire began to shift from Constantinople towards Morea.⁹⁹ As early as 1217 Empress Yolanda on her way to the capital visited the court of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and gave her daughter Agnes to his elder son, the future Geoffrey II.¹⁰⁰

Frankish Morea was established in hostility with the Epirote state as from its beginning. The natural zone of conflict became the Gulfs of Patras and Corinth. Sometimes confrontation acquired surprising forms. In his letter of 20 December 1233 to the Latin archbishop of Patras (the already mentioned Antelme), Pope Gregory IX rebukes his addressee with indignation that whilst Geoffrey II was trying to defeat the Greeks with every effort, he was despising the Prince. What was more, he was trying to establish peace with the infidel Hellenes, the enemies of God and the Church, allowing them to enter freely the city (and the fortress) and supplying them with provisions. It is possible that the archbishop of Patras had been compelled to go to such an agreement with Michael II after the assaults of the Epirote fleet against the town. According to M. Kordoses this was the most critical moment of the confrontation between Epiros and the Peloponnese.¹⁰¹

Their relations remained hostile until ca. 1255. The change of the territorial aspirations of Epiros, toward Thessalonica and Constantinople, enabled Morea to take an active part in the struggle for the preservation of the Latin Empire. Geoffrey II of Villehardouin

99. N. Iorga, 'France de Constantinople et de Morée...', 211.

100. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 37-8.

101. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 145. However, P. Soustal (in *TIB*, 3, 1981) asserts that before the end of 1236 Michael II drove away his uncle Manuel from Kerkyra probably with the assistance of Geoffrey.

douin (1228/30-1246) sent John of Brienne 22,000 hyperpers every year to gather troops for the defence of Constantinople. In the winter of 1235-1236 he himself came to the assistance of the capital besieged by John III Vatatzes and John II Asen with 120 ships, 100 knights, 300 arbalesters and 500 archers.¹⁰² When in the West Baldwin II was trying to organize a crusade in aid of the Latin Empire (1237-1238), Geoffrey in turn equipped ten galleys.¹⁰³

The Principality became 'the heart of the Frankish world of Romania'.¹⁰⁴ Gradually the Prince of Achaia rose as the most powerful vassal of the Latin Empire. From 1211/1212 he was the suzerain of half Thebes, and the Megaskyr of Athens was his vassal for Argos and Nauplion. In 1236 the Count of Cephalonia, Matthew Orsini, placed himself under Geoffrey's suzerainty, and later Baldwin II made him suzerain of Negropont and possibly of the Archipelago.¹⁰⁵

The Principality reached its zenith in the first decade of the rule of William II of Villehardouin (1246-1274/8) — a period of incomparable progress. In the winter of 1248/1249 the Duke of Burgundy, Hugh IV, travelling with many French knights who had taken the cross of the crusade organized by King Louis, was his guest in Lakedaïmon on the way to Cyprus. The Moreot ruler joined the crusaders at the end of May 1249, as Marino Sanudo wrote, with 24 of his own ships. He left the camp of the French king a year later, and in the meantime succeeded in detaching

102. Miller, *Latins*, 89; Bon, *Morée*, 79; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 153 n. 12; A. Dančeva-Vasileva, *op. cit.*, 140-1. Almost at the same time Pope Gregory IX addressed the clergy of Morea to give financial help to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. Cf. R. Lee Wolff, 'Politics...', 290.

103. Miller, *Latins*, 90; Longnon, *Empire*, 180-1.

104. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 152.

105. J. Longnon in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 (Milwaukee and London, 1969), 243; Bon, *Morée*, 80; Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 22 ff.

about 100 knights in support of the town of Rhodes besieged by Vatatzes.¹⁰⁶

Sanudo also mentions a certain battle between the Greeks and William II of Villehardouin which occurred according to him between 1250 (when the Prince came back from the crusade) and 1255 — the beginning of the war with Euboea. The Greeks moved against the vicinity of Bodonitsa, but William with 8000 horsemen among which there were 3000 armour-bearers (?) managed to repulse them. It is possible that this piece of information concerns Michael II about 1246 or explains the alarming letter of Pope Alexander IV dated 2 February 1255 in which he addressed the Latin bishops of Southern Greece. According to him the Peloponnese was in such a bad condition that all the Franks, clergy and laics, had to help in repelling the enemy.¹⁰⁷

Actually, in the spring of 1255, in connection with the heritage of his late wife Carintana dalle Carceri, William II came into conflict with the Venetian tertiaries of Negropont. This conflict gradually involved all forces of Frankish Greece and had a serious bearing on the Principality. The outcome of the war was solved in favour of the Prince in the battle of Karydi in Attica (1258). But in order to achieve this success Morea made every effort and even sought the support of the Epirote ruler Michael II. Furthermore, both the internal and external position of the Principality was far from stable: relations with Venice had not been settled by a treaty when William II intervened in the struggle against Nicaea.

106. Marino Sanudo, *Istoria del regno di Romania* (ed. Ch. Hopf in *Chroniques inédites gréco-romanes* [Berlin, 1873] 102); J. Longnon in *A History...*, 244-5; Bon, *Morée*, 118; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 170; M. Barber, 'Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece...', 122.

107. Sanudo, *Istoria*, 103; Alexander IV, *Regesta* (ed. G. Bourel de la Roncière etc.), no. 34 (after Kordoses, *Conquest*, 147).

3. The Battle of Pelagonia and Its Consequences

The regency and the usurpation of the throne by Michael Palaiologos (1 January 1259) activated the policy of the despot of Epiros. The Prince of Morea, since 1258 son-in-law of Michael II, remained the only ruler in the Orient who had the chance to support the plans of Epiros for a second occupation of Thessalonica. Heading a 20,000-strong army (8,000 horsemen and 12,000 infantry from the Peloponnese, including also Greeks from the Morea, from Central and Insular Greece), he intercepted Michael VIII in Macedonia. In the army of the despot there were also 400 knights sent by his other son-in-law, the King of Sicily, Manfred, who already controlled strategical territories along the Albanian coast. The decisive battle took place at Pelagonia in the late autumn of 1259.¹⁰⁸ Most of the Frankish knights were either killed or captured and taken to Asia Minor; William II himself fell captive. The victory of Michael VIII Palaiologos was due mainly to the skilful use of the contradictions in the anti-Nicaean coalition. Epiros became a secondary force in the Balkans, and the first defeat of the Principality marked the beginning of the end for the Franks in the Morea. Basing his arguments on Sanudo, M. Kordoses even presumes a certain agitation of the population in the peninsula.¹⁰⁹ But this exceptionally favourable situation for Nicaea was exploited above all for achieving its major objective — the conquest of Constantinople. Thus, the most convenient mo-

108. *Livre*, para. 295 f.; *Libro*, para. 257 f.; *Chronikon*, vv. 3694 f.; Sanudo, *Istoria*, p. 107; Miller, *Latins*, 110; D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia', *DOP* VII (1953), 118 f.; Bon, *Morée*, 121-2; Angold, *Government*, 26; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 172; Chr. Maltezou 'Ιστορία τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ ἔθνους, 255; A. Dančeva-Vasileva, *op. cit.*, 167-8; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 447-9.

109. *Loc. cit.* H. Kalligas (*Monemvasia*, 179-80) thinks that the riot was instigated by Michael VIII while William II was captive in Constantinople. On details, see Chapter III.2.2.

ment for the return of Southern Greece was missed. Michael VIII hoped to receive Morea as a ransom for the captured Frankish noblemen.

The entry of the Nicaeans in Constantinople (25 July 1261) actually compelled William II to be more conceding. At the end of the year an agreement was reached in the Byzantine capital between him and Michael VIII according to which the Principality should surrender to the Empire the fortresses of Monemvasia, Maïna, Geraki and Mistra.¹¹⁰ Apart from territorial concessions, by the treaty the Prince acknowledged the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperor and received the title of 'Great Domestic'. He even became godfather of one of the Emperor's sons.

The seigneur of Karytaina, Geoffrey of Briel, was freed from captivity and sent to the Peloponnese in order to carry out the territorial clauses of the agreement. In Thebes he met the Athenian Duke Guy I of la Roche with whom he set forth to Nikli in Arcadia. There was convened the well-known 'Ladies' Parliament' — the Princess and the wives of the killed or captured knights had to ratify the Treaty of Constantinople. The critical situation found a marked expression in the words of the Duke that if the Emperor received the three fortresses, he would get the power to chase away the Franks from the Morea and conquer it.¹¹¹ But as Monemvasia had been captured by the Prince himself, and Mistra and Maïna had been built by him, the Parliament accepted the conditions of the agreement and Geoffrey of Briel surrendered the fortresses. Then he went back to the Byzantine capital together with hostages (among them was Marguerite of Passavant) where

110. George Pachymeres, *De Mich Pal.*, III.31 (ed. A. Failler, 1:123 ll. 22-6). Cf. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 176. On the recapture of Passavant, see: P. Kalonaros, *Μάνη. Κάστρο της παράδοσης. Φύση. Ιστορία. Έθιμα. Θρύλοι* (Athens, 1981), 48; A. Kriesis, 'On the Castles of Zarnata and Kelefa', *BZ* 56/2 (1963), 315 (the recapture is dated to 1262).

111. *Chronikon*, vv. 4480-4; Medvedev, *Mistra*, 14, 21 n. 42.

William and the other noblemen were freed (1262).¹¹²

The installment of the Byzantines in Mistra, Monemvasia and Maïna brought about the rapid growth of their domains in the southeastern part of the peninsula, regardless of the firm determination of the Franks to restore their lost positions. Immediately after his arrival William II, with the assistance of Venice and the Papacy, began hostilities against the Byzantines. At the end of 1262 or the beginning of the next year Genoese vessels transferred the troops of *sebastocrator* Constantine Palaiologos to Monemvasia. The expedition of *parakeimomenos* Makrenos had already managed to split the Melingoi from the Franks. In the spring of 1263 the fleet, headed by *protostrator* Alexios Philanthropenos, devastated the coast of Laconia and perhaps went as far as Patras. The Byzantines now controlled the southern coast of the Peloponnese including the peninsulas of Maleas and Tainaron.¹¹³

Thus, from 1262 on, the political development of the Principality of Achaea entered a new period: the restored Byzantine Empire gradually began an offensive in the Morea from its bases in Monemvasia and Mistra. But the failure of the Byzantine strategists and the relatively stable structure of the Principality to that moment did not allow the military operations of 1263-1264 to cause any radical change in its historical fate in the coming decade.

However, the conditions for this matured rather quickly. Now, in Byzantium Frankish Morea faced a still mighty opponent which had not exhausted its potential for regeneration on a more limited scale. In the Peloponnese the Empire was restored on territories with exceptional advantages for military strategy and with popula-

112. Miller, *Latins*, 117; Bon, *Morée*, 124-5; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 125-6.

113. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 353 f. H. Kalligas (*Monemvasia*, 181-2, 184-5) thinks that the expedition of Philanthropenos could have been sent before the Treaty of 1261. Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 125 f.; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 176-7; D. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée, 1262-1460* (VRL, 1975), vol. 1: 33-4, 322-3; vol. 2: 133, 391.

tions which enjoyed special privileges during the short period of the frangokratia. The Balkan interests of Byzantium and its overall relations with the West — the key to its fate — made the peninsula, as never before, a centre of Byzantine interests.

It was of particular importance that at the beginning of the sixties, under the conditions then, there happened a rarely observed in history break in the socio-cultural process. The placing of the Principality under the suzerainty of the Angevins in May 1267 (Treaty of Viterbo) opened the way for a new influx of immigrants from the West, mainly from Italy, which changed the features of the interaction with the local population in the Frankish territories. A clear distinctive line appeared in the behaviour of the Peloponnesians. Whilst the “foster-sons” of Geoffrey of Briel were raised to dubbing, in 1263-1264 in Skorta, and mostly in the Taygetos, the population sided with the Byzantine troops. The most important of all Byzantine fleets in the thirteenth century, prepared against the great offensive of Charles I of Anjou after Viterbo, was subdivided in squadrons stationed in the provinces and commanded by the *duces* of the respective districts, amongst which mention is made even of a *dux* of Patras!¹¹⁴ And in Byzantine Mistra, the name of which in this very form was a product of the Frankish rule, a new social and cultural process commenced which brought about the real cultural and historical facts of synthesis.¹¹⁵

114. H. Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, 357, 360.

115. On Myzethras and the different forms of its name among which the Greek one, Mistras, is a derivative of the Frankish type, see: H. R. Kahane, ‘Italo-Byzantine Etymologies, II’, *B* 16 (1942-1943), 355. The form used today officially in Greece is Mystras.

Chapter III

Franks and the Local Population

«Ἐτοῦτοι εἶναι ἀπόξενοι ἀπὸ διαφόρους τόπους,
ἀπαίδευτοι νὰ πολεμοῦν μετὰ Φράγκους ἀνθρώπους·
μηδὲν ὀκνήσωμεν ποσῶς νὰ μᾶς ἀποσκεπάσουν,
ἀφνίδως ἅς τοὺς δώσωμεν ὅλοι μὲ τὰ κόντάρια.»

(Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, 4725-8)

1. The French Knighthood

The greatest “luxury” of the Franks in the Morea was in their knightly magnificence. All that Western society of courtesy and chivalry could have created, seemed to put down roots under the sun of Greece.¹ William II of Villehardouin himself was author of two *chansons*², and jousts and courting of women are frequently mentioned in the *Chronicle of Morea*.³ What were the

1. J. Longnon, *Les Français...*, 216 (see n. 30 on p. above); id., *Empire*, 192 ff.; I. Božilov, ‘La “Chronique de Morée”...’, 38. About the court of Champagne, see: Buchon, *Recherches*, 80.

2. J. Longnon, ‘Le prince de Morée Chansonnier’, *Romania* CCLVII/65 (1939), 95-100.

3. Cf. *Libro*, para. 194; D. Jacoby, ‘Knightly Values...’, 163 (see n. 67 on p. above).

reasons that caused such a consistent observance (at least according to sources) of chivalrous ethos in an alien, though a Christian country, which was moreover called "Achaïa"?

J. Longnon asserted that in the Morea Frankish barons felt to a lesser extent the influence of the social setting because it was far from the splendour of the civilization of Constantinople.⁴ It should be added that the ultimate reasons were to be found in the chivalrous *milieu* of Moreot nobility.

There are two definitions that can most characteristically represent the European twelfth century: this was the century of *mutatio* and the century of France. People used to experience it as a religious event, as a real and awaited 'miracle' — the end of the world and the forthcoming of a 'new realm'. Innocent III himself shared the belief which spread at the beginning of the century that the world would come to an end in 1284. That was probably the reason which stimulated him in the attempt to solve the problems separating mankind — the heresies and the schism.⁵ Thus the pursuit of change was once again given vent in a crusade. However, in contrast to earlier episodes, its tasks, and the efforts undertaken to fulfil them, not only, 'under the will of God', 'mixed together the West and the East' (Fulcher of Chartres) but subjected the latter to the former.⁶ The end of the world did not come, but the change that took place in it marked the end of a whole age.

Raimbault of Vacqueyras, the troubadour of Boniface's circle, exclaimed enthusiastically that neither Alexander, nor Charlemagne or Roland have ever conquered so many a people and imposed the Frankish law on them!⁷ Behind this glamorous

4. In *Les Français...*, 212.

5. B. M. Bolton, 'A Mission to the Orthodox? The Cistercians in Romania', *Studies in Church History* 13 (1976), 169.

6. After O.A. Dobias-Roždestvenskaja, *Kul'tura Zapadnoevropejskogo srednevekov'ja* (Moscow, 1987), 31-2.

7. After J. Longnon, op. cit., 203. Cf. Miller, *Latins*, 40; M. Dendias, 'Sur les rapports...', 376 (see n. 25 on p. above).

adventure which proceeded from a tournament in the court of Champagne there stood France — the symbol of new Europe coming into being at the height of feudalism.

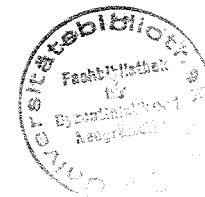
By 1180 — the year of the ascension of Philip II Augustus, a great number of the participants in the Fourth Crusade had already been born. Many of them were brought up in families which preserved the atmosphere of crusading tradition and, naturally, both the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania* link the conquest of the Peloponnese with the First Crusade. Among these future crusaders there were poets, such as Hugh of Berzé, who praised the expedition well before it started.⁸ But besides "haus hommes" there were also many of those "povres chevaliers" whose interests found explicit expression in the *Chronicle of Robert of Cléry*.⁹ For the purpose of this study it is necessary to present the pattern of knightly behaviour typical of the crusaders who came from Champagne and Burgundy and its moral and religious ideal.

Though the second half of the twelfth century did not mark the highest stage of patrimonial and legal restriction of the ruling class in northern France, it turned out to be of decisive importance for these phenomena. In the fifties Burgundy, Champagne, Artois and Île-de-France became the crossroad of European trade. The fairs of Champagne provided the basis for French prosperity. Towns tended to constitute a world of their own, encircled by walls. The rising role of the burgesses forced the elite in power to set to framing a code that ought to preserve and strengthen its position.¹⁰ Knighthood happened to be in the centre of this

8. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 4, 213-4.

9. On the social origin of the knightly elite, see: D. Jacoby, op. cit., 159. Cf. Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 18.

10. G. Duby - R. Mandrou, *Histoire de la civilisation française*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Paris, 1969), 135, 140, 142. Cf. J.L. Bessmertny, 'Nekotorye problemy istorii dvorjanstva v Severnoj Francii konca XII - načala XIV v.', *FE* (1966), 26; M. Ossovskaja, *Rycar i buržua* (Moscow, 1987), 172.



process. As G. Duby put it figuratively, in the 1180s, when the plot uncovered later at Bouvines was being hatched, knighthood became a real institution.¹¹

The relationship between aristocracy and knighthood during that period is the major controversial problem in medieval studies today.¹² On the one hand, in Duby's theory the notion of *militia* absorbed that of *noblesse* in France (as contrasted with Germany) and that process had been already accomplished by 1200.¹³ On the other hand, a number of scholars, including Duby's disciple J. Flori, underline that provided the phenomenon really took shape in the last twenty years of the century, such was not the case with the previous period, as G. Duby claims. That is also proved by the development of the region of Mâcon in the study of which Duby still remains unsurpassed.¹⁴

Anyhow, the first twenty years of Philip's II reign were the time when the name 'knight' in *Chansons de geste* came to be recognized as a title, and entering the knighthood — to be associated with a promotion to a high rank and a rise up the social ladder. At the close of the century common knights even began to dig moats round their houses thus turning them into a *replica* of the castle. That was no longer only the sign of a certain independence from the *castellan*; it already indicated a distinction from the country. It was not a mere accident that by 1200 knightly literature was simply overwhelmed by monstrous

11. In the *Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago etc., 1982), 293.

12. *Ideologija feodal'nogo obsčestva...*, 199 (see n. 12 on p. above).

13. G. Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society', *Past and Present* 39 (1968), 7-8.

14. See his *La Société au XIe et XIIe siècles...* (cited in n. 6 on p. above). Cf. id., 'Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XIIe siècle dans la région mâconnaise: une révision', *AESC* 27/4-5 (1972), 803-22. Contra: D. Rocher, '“Chevalerie” et “Littérature chevaleresque”', *Études germaniques* 21/2 (1966), 177-8; J. Flori, 'La notion de Chevalerie dans les Chansons de geste du XIIe siècle', *MA* 81/2 (1975), 211-44; 81/3-4, 407-45.

images of peasants. These were creatures pictured like moral and physical freaks, half humans and half beasts, half pagans and half devils.¹⁵ Yet, as in any other aspect the attitude towards the peasantry was ambivalent; the ideal knight should not feel any resentment against villeins no matter how dirty, rough and unpleasant they might be. In the *chansons* peasants might even give a few words of praiseworthy advice to knights!¹⁶

The static triple model of society underwent a much more interesting change. The functions of *bellatores*, *oratores* and *laboratores* were shifted upon the “domestic trinity” — the feudal lord, his wife and his heir who was the young “driving force” in the evolution of aristocratic ideas.¹⁷ However, knights were already gaining dominance over the other two *ordines*.

What was the nature of the *ethos* that at the close of the twelfth century marked the distinction of professional and of high rank warriors, belonging to the social elite, and of non-noble military servants — sergeants and squires who had not yet been dubbed? The relation of *nobilitas* to *militia* was doubled by the “status of freedom” and this fact became a norm of social life since there were personally unfree knights as well, such as the *ministerials*.¹⁸ Real codification was achieved through the ritual of dubbing which began to spread widely at the close of the century. Its ideological ethics and mysticism as well as its liturgical systematization were constituted at the same time with the first norms of law that guided the transformation of knighthood into a closed estate.¹⁹ The basic elements of this expensive ritual ap-

15. J. Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture...*, 11 (see n. 56 on p. above); J.L. Bessmertny, 'Krest'janin glazami rycarja (po materialam Francii XI-XIII vv.)', in *Kul'tura i obsčestvennaja mysl'* (Moscow, 1988), 100.

16. *Ibid.*, 104. On the link between minor and middle knighthood created by folklore, see J. Le Goff, *op. cit.*, 220.

17. G. Duby, *The Three Orders...*, 302-3. Cf. D. Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 163.

18. Fr. Kardini, *Istoki srednevekovogo rycarstva* (Moscow, 1987), 340.

19. *Ibid.*, 358; G. Duby, *op. cit.*, 300, 306-7. Cf. J. Flori, *op. cit.*, 444, table

peared in the *chansons* and romances at the beginning of the thirteenth century and therefore testified to the comprehension of social reality by the knights themselves. Moreover, it can be argued that between the two groups of *chansons* — the ones created before 1180 and the others created after that year, Chrétien de Troyes wrote the romances (namely, *Erec at Enide*, *Cligès*, *Lancelot*, *Yvain* and *Perceval*) which marked new steps in the evolution of the notion of chivalry: beginning with the military commander and feudal lord (*Erec*), then followed by a knight of courteous bearing (*Lancelot*), and finally — by the knight-Christian (*Perceval*). In the *chansons* of the second group knights already appeared as “milites Christi”.²⁰

However, this transformation did not lead to a harmony between chivalrous *ethos* and religious norms of the age. In contrast with the asceticism preached by the Church, the lyrics of the troubadours sang praises to courteous love conceived as a devotion to a lady which was in every aspect similar to the service of a vassal to his lord. The adoration of women, still unfamiliar to the authors of the *chansons*, appeared in the romances and reached its culmination in the cult of Virgin Mary. But this phenomenon, as well as the impact that the “clerical” view of love had on the chivalrous ideal (*De Amore* of Andrew the Chaplain), did not make courteous love less scandalous.²¹ Love turned out to be a sphere of activity where all types of cultural perfection flourished.²² It became a kind of secular morality which comprised Christian virtues as well. In the *chansons* love was spiritual adultery, while Chrétien de

V1: “Classement des adjectifs avant 1180 et après 1180” — *Franc* (21) and *Franc* (90!).

20. *Ibid.*, 433, 437; *id.*, ‘Chevalerie et liturgie: remise des armes et vocabulaire “chevaleresque” dans les sources liturgiques du IXe au XIV siècle’, *MA* 84/2 (1978), 247-78; *id.*, ‘Semantique et société médiévale: le verbe adouber et son évolution au XIIe s.’, *AESC* 31/5 (1976), 915-40; G. Duby, *op. cit.*, 299.

21. *Ibid.*, 338-40; J. Le Goff, *op. cit.*, 262; M. Ossovskaja, *op. cit.*, 94-5.

22. J. Hizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Peregrine books, 1965), 104.

Troyes believed that the lady of the heart could have been even one’s own wife.²³ Thus, the chivalrous ideal emerged from the richness of emotional life: without being “intelligent”, the knight should be courteous, generous and loyal. The *chansons* express almost mystical exaltation of strength, *bravour* and vitality — the knight should be distinguished, praised and loved.²⁴

The devotion to the lady of the heart was equal in value to the loyalty which the vassal owed to his lord. That was the core of the chivalrous *ethos*. The greatest sin was namely disloyalty and it led to expulsion from the ‘corporation’. However, this *ethos* had power only in the particular social group and in practice when out of it knights rarely resembled the ideal.²⁵ The following of certain rules brought about the breach of others. But in the Middle Ages the combination of values incompatible by nature, as the case described presents, was no exception whatsoever.²⁶

The erotical element was also in the centre of the other activity most typical of knighthood — the tournaments. Along with the extreme pride which the Church renounced and the violence over peace, the passionate nature of this “noble play” showed once more the ambivalence of the phenomenon of knighthood.²⁷ It was only the Church which did not accept jousting and poured out anathemas throughout the period from 1143 until 1314. Saint Louis himself would not have been Saint Louis in case he did not hate them either.²⁸

The lust for honour and glory, the imitation of past heroes,—

23. *Ideologija feodal'nogo obščestva...*, 253.

24. M. Ossovskaja, *op. cit.*, 97; J. Flori, ‘La notion...’, 445; Z. Oldenbourg, *The Crusades* (New York, 1966), 36.

25. V. I. Ukolova and L.A. Kotelnikova in the preface to the cited above study of Fr. Cardini, pp. 22-4.

26. *Kul'tura i obščestvo v srednie veka...*, 31 (see n. 58 on p. above).

27. J. Huizinga, *op. cit.*, 77, 80.

28. G.G. Coulton in *Life in the Middle Ages*, parts. 3-4 (Cambridge, 1967), 254 n. 1.

the very romance of valour,— was often transmitted by the oral tradition, through oral performance.²⁹ Moreover, the identity of terms made possible the tracing of knights' history back to Roman Antiquity: no one could fancy the *miles* and *eques* of the Roman authors to have been anything other than knights! Romulus was recognized to have been the first knight and Alexander the Great, Hercules, David, Hannibal, Caesar, Augustus, *Paris, Hector, Priam, and the Trojans in general* — worthy of imitation.³⁰ The Arthurian cycle did not prevent fantastic genealogies which ever since Fredegarius made the Franks descendants of Nestor's son Frank. "In circa 1160 Benoît of Sainte-Maure became the first author to compose a full-length French rendering in verse of the epic of Troy."³¹ It was then only natural that Constantinople was conquered in revenge for the injustice that Greeks had once done to the Trojans.³²

29. E. Jeffreys, 'Western Infiltration of the Byzantine Aristocracy: Some Suggestions', in *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 207.

30. J. Huizinga, *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance* (London, 1959), 198.

31. D. Jacoby, 'Knightly Values...', 171. Cf. G.J. Bratianu, 'Le roman de Troie dans la Chronique de Robert de Clari', *RHSEE* VI/1-3 (1929), 52, 54; Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:296; T. Wood, *The Age of Chivalry: Manners and Morals, 1000-1450* (London, 1970), 105; J. Longnon, 'Domination franque...', 160 (see n. 30 on p. above).

32. Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos [Historia Constantinopolitana]*, in *PL* 212: 271-50; Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, CVI (101). Here is an explicit confirmation of Gurevič's statement (in *Srednevekovyj mir...*, 379 [see n. 56 on p. above]) that myth was a 'form-making and a sense-making basis' of world outlook in the Middle Ages; myth was not only revived but was over and over recreated. Should I recall that as early as the end of the eleventh century in Western consciousness Constantinople had already been assigned the third function of the triple model — that of *laboratores*, who provided the means of existence for the *bellatores* (Paris) and the *oratores* (Jerusalem). See on the subject the brilliant paper presented by Fr. Aramburu Riera at the Sixth Congress of SEES in Sofia last summer: 'Constantinople, siège de la troisième fonction dumézilienne dans une chanson

We have no intention to raise over again the problem of the so-called "deviation" of the Fourth Crusade already raised in the second half of the last century. At present there is an increasingly growing opinion that the historiography of this problem is even greater than the problem itself.³³ In the light of the above observations it should be emphasized that among the political and religious aspirations of the time it was in the very nature of crusades that the chivalrous ideal was embodied to the greatest extent. The re-conquest of Jerusalem was considered by the *peregrins* as a holy and heroic deed, and therefore it was a knightly one.³⁴ Thus a notion of fame shared only in the West evolved which calls for the solution of a minor problem (as compared to the mentioned one but providing an original key to it, though): how was it that the idea of capturing Constantinople, and putting it into practice, outweighed the initial zealous plan of the new crusade and did not induce an *openly* expressed feeling of sin committed?

Such a task is too large and multilateral in view of the purposes of this study, all the more that the crusaders who settled in the Peloponnese came with the clear intention to stay there,³⁵ convinced of their own superiority, without any pangs of remorse. For them the problem, if it ever existed, had already been solved. The French knighthood could afford greater liberalness towards religion because it had a culture of its own which governed its way of behaviour.³⁶ The independence and autonomy raised it

de geste française'. I am indebted to the authoress who has been so kind as to provide me with a photocopy of the report. Now, it has been published in *EB* 26/2 (1990), 89-92.

33. P. Lemerle, 'Byzance et la Croisade...', 611 (see n. 13 on p. above); J. Folda, 'The Fourth Crusade, 1201-1203. Some Reconsiderations', *BS* 26 (1965), 277.

34. J. Huizinga, *The Waning ...*, 92; A. Dupont, *Du sacré: croisades et pèlerinages. Images et langages* (Paris, 1987), 239-312.

35. K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant...*, vol. 1, 23.

36. J. Huizinga, *op. cit.*, 105-6.

high above the Byzantine aristocracy as regards liberty and scope of activity, since the latter, impressed by the brilliance of the Emperor's office, was unable to elaborate its own original ideal.

The prologue of the Greek version of the Chronicle of Morea — comparatively seldom used by the historians who study the Fourth Crusade, tells about two reasons that made the Franks capture Constantinople: the directions of the papal legate, along with the blessing of the Pope himself (vv. 500-4), and what was most important — the perfidy of the Greeks, especially regarding their lord, the Emperor (vv. 56-67, 76 ff., 551, 593 ff., 724 ff.)

«Λοιπὸν ἀφότου οὐ σέβονται τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρώμης
«διατὶ νὰ ὑπᾶμε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν κι οὐ μὴ νὰ στραφοῦμε ὀπίσω;
«νὰ ἐπάρωμεν τῶν ἄπιστων τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅπου ἔχουν,
«ἀφότου τὸν ἀφέντην τους τὸν βασιλέαν ἐπνίξαν;»
(vv. 816-9)

'...let us return to the city and let us all give battle with our weapons. And, if God be willing and we have the city of Constantine, let us keep the empire of all Romania.' (vv. 838-41 [91])

Ten years later, when Philip II at the battle of Bouvines really became Augustus, the Franks had not yet conquered all the Peloponnese, but they had already organized there a principality of their own.³⁷

2. Conquerors and Defenders

2.1 The Demographic Potential of the Frankish Colony. The space factor is of essential importance to any form of communication. Proximity or remoteness of contact have their impact upon all

37. G. Duby, *The Three Orders...*, 346. Cf. id., *Le Dimanche de Bouvines, 27 juillet 1214: la guerre au XIIIe s.* (Paris, 1973).

stages of interaction: acquaintance, assimilation, reinterpretation and cultural synthesis. Naturally, most important are the direct forms of contact.³⁸

Can we establish, at least approximately, what were the forces with which the crusaders conquered Western Peloponnese — the territory where they settled within the shortest period of time but for more than two centuries forwards? Geographically this area occupies 11,874 sq km (of the total 21,556 of the whole peninsula), and there are several passages in the sources that bear information about the quantitative aspect of the conquest. First comes the evidence of Geoffrey of Villehardouin that his nephew arrived at Methone with his *nef* (para. 325), while later, together with William of Champlitte, he led out of the camp of Boniface 'about a hundred knights and a great number of mounted sergeants, and entered into the land of Morea'. 'Michalis' 'heard that they were in the land with *so few people*' (para. 328 [86]). In the next paragraph the Marshal of Romania tells that in the battle against the Greeks the crusaders 'had no more than five hundred men mounted' (86). If we consider the data about the expected number of the participants in the Fourth Crusade, systematized by A. Carile, we may suggest that the mounted sergeants who started with Villehardouin and Champlitte numbered to no less than 200 since in April 1201 9,000 sergeants on horse were to suit 4,500 knights (which is to say a proportion 2:1; for Venice it was 2.5:1).³⁹ Therefore about 300 to 350 horsemen left the camp of the marquis without considering those who had come with Villehardouin himself a few days earlier; his uncle tells about them: 'as many men as he could collect' (para. 326 [85]). Obviously most of Villehardouin's men remained at Methone (the more so as it was unfortified) but they scarcely reached 400 as R.-J. Loenertz

38. S.M. Artanolvskij, *Istoričeskoe edinstvo čelovečstva i vzaimnoe vlijanie kul'tur* (Lenigrad, 1967), 141 ff.

39. Carile, *Storia*, 89-91. Cf. *ibid.*, 369-74.

claimed (see n. 55 on p. 173 above). Even if we trust the *Chronicle of Morea*, pointing that in the battle of Kountouras the Franks had 700 warriors — horsemen and infantry, Villehardouin's contingent that had arrived with his *nef* did not reach the number indicated by Loernertz. And in the riot against Villehardouin, after the death of the Greek "sire", some of his men most probably found their death, too. The crusaders suffered losses also at Arkadiá, Korone and Kalamata, however small they might have been.

Anyway, considering the ideal case and not taking losses into account, the number of the Frankish forces before the battle in the plain of Kalamata is likely to have been about 500 horsemen and 200 infantry sergeants. The sources make it clear that the latter came most probably from Villehardouin's men and they had stayed at Methone after he made for Nauplion. This means that he had arrived at Methone with 45 knights and 90 mounted sergeants, that is with a total of 333 soldiers if the proportion of April 1201 was followed (knights to mounted sergeants to infantry sergeants as 1:2:4.4). Hence Villehardouin's evidence is indirectly confirmed: 365 horsemen had started from Boniface's camp (500 minus 135 of Geoffrey who had remained at Methone or accompanied him along the march to Nauplion). If we take into account the absence of the soldiers who stayed at Methone, we can see that the first stage of the conquest (1204-1205) was achieved with less than 500 cavalry. It should be underlined that in the battle against the Greeks the crusaders had also paid some victims.

A greater difficulty appears when we set to determine the amount of the troops that the Franks had at their disposal during the second stage, 1206 to 1212, when they captured the mountainous regions of Western Peloponnese, the entire Corinthia and Argonauplia as well as a part of Laconia. Some ten years later they became masters of almost the whole peninsula, with Tzakonia, Vatika, and the central and northern ridges of Taygetos excluded.

The number of Boniface's troops that crossed the Isthmos is not known, but if we judge by the words of Niketas Choniates

the army of the Marquis was relatively small and heterogeneous including also some Greeks from the lands already conquered by the cursaders.⁴⁰ As early as the very beginning of 1205 it suffered serious losses at Akrocorinth and the attack by which it took the *chora* of Argos was not bloodless either. As we saw, about 350 horsemen left the camp of Boniface at Nauplion and probably not a few set out with him for Thessalonica in the beginning of June. It seems that Othon of la Roche did not dispose of great forces in the course of the long siege of Akrocorinth. Henry of Valenciennes (para. 669) tells of him and of Geoffrey of Villehardouin making for Ravennika in May 1209 with 60 knights out of the participants in that siege. We can judge of the insufficient armed force of the Franks by the fact that the siege of Nauplion was reopened only after the closure of the operation under Akrocorinth; according to M. Kordoses that happened in the summer of 1210. Though a little army might have remained at Argos after 1205 as a guard of the *chora*, here, too, the siege of the fortress actually began after the conquest of Nauplion in the summer of 1211.⁴¹ The interference of Venetian ships after the Treaty of Sapienza also points to the weakness of the Franks to confront the three fortresses at one and the same time. Yet, compared to the forces used in the conquest of other Peloponnesian territories by 1212, those engaged at Akrocorinth, Nauplion and Argos seem to have been considerable.

We can define relatively the total number of the Franks who conquered the peninsula also after the already mentioned lists of fiefs in the versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Besides the domain of the Prince, including probably about 200 fiefs directly

40. Choniates, 609 ll. 79-81. Cf. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 73. B. Hendrickx ('À propos du nombre des troupes de la quatrième croisade et de l'empereur Baudouin I', *Byzantion* 3 [1971], 40) thinks that since October 1204 most of the knights left Constantinople; he points to some 460, however, without those of Boniface and those staying as garrisons outside the capital.

41. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 123-4.

dependent on him, the sum total of the explicitly mentioned fiefs of the great feudal lords amounts to $24 + 24 + 22 + 12 + 8 + 2 \times 6 + 4 \times 4 + 3 \times 4 = 130$. Only the Aragonese version (paras. 123, 125, 132, 133) tells for the end of the fifties of some more fiefs, whose holders had probably not taken part in the conquest: 4 (of the baron of Mitopoli) + 6 (of the lord of Damala — William of la Roche?) + a number of fiefs held by knights who were not barons (4 of Montea, 4 of Vidoigne, 3 of Ligny and 3 of Foucherolles), 10 + 14 total. These data cannot be used precisely enough because the Chronicle points to neither the knights holding two/one fiefs, nor the mounted sergeants of one/half of a sergeanty (para. 133; vv. 1965-7). Moreover, we should bear in mind that the domain of the Prince covered also lands conquered after 1224 when in all probability both the soldiers recently arrived in the Morea and the contingents of the Prince's vassals outside the peninsula were used in battles. On the other hand, the number of fiefs held by the de la Roche family in Argolis is unknown as well (save perhaps for the 6 mentioned above). The total number of mounted conquerors over the summer/autumn of 1205 and the end of 1225 apparently exceeded 500: 130 knights + 260 sergeants + (200-x) + x unknown + 12(?) barons. This is not surprising since the warriors who were disengaged after the capture of Sgouros' fortresses were likely to compensate for the losses in the plain of Kalamata. While the proportion of knights to mounted sergeants remained 1:2 we do not know the number of the infantry sergeants by 1225, — were they more or less than 200? — because there is no evidence as to what extent they had been used in Corinthia and Argolis. Anyway, the Peloponnese was conquered, though in stages, by an army that seemed to be comprised of no more than 1,000 warriors in total.⁴²

42. I include in it the squires and the other auxiliary bodies. Cf. R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193* (Cambridge, 1985), 108. If the number of the known fiefs and the military obligations of the barons mentioned in the Chronicle (vv.

We consider next the density of the conquerors settled in the peninsula as related to its territory. Despite all questions it could not have been more than 1 man per sq km on the average. As the geography of both the major baronial centres and of the newly built Frankish castles (see below) shows, in the plains and regions strategic for defence, it was higher than the average one, while in the mountainous areas, especially in the Taygetos, it was lower. The greatest density was naturally in Elis and in the big towns of the peninsula. In regard to the relation of territory to fief, by 1260 it was, at an average, 54 sq km per fief. But in this case, too, one has to consider the correctives of relief and the fact that the total number of fiefs is not known.⁴³

It is hard to estimate what part of the military contingents known to us from the further history of the Principality resulted from the natural growth of the population, from later immigration, and from the support that the Prince was given by his vassals. And even though in the envy of St. Louis for the suite of William II (which was said always to comprise 700 to 1,000 knights) there might have been a tint of legend, it is significant that only a few years after the battle of Pelagonia the Franks could recruit an army of 312 knights.⁴⁴ While during the first half of the thirteenth century in Western Europe the rate of growth of the popula-

1977 ff.) are taken into account, the following calculations can be made: for the eight barons with 4 fiefs — 8 knights and 96 sergeants; for the rest 108 fiefs of barons — 108 knights and 216 mounted sergeants; for the other knights — 14 horsemen. Total: 130 knights, 216 mounted sergeants and 96 sergeants of unspecified qualification; therefore: $442 + x$ knights of one fief + x 'sergeants of the conquest'.

43. No figures, even approximate, about the influx of non-military laics and clergy can be deduced by 1260. However, the contacts with Venetian merchants and with Frankish lords were most intensive. For comparison: by 1965 the average density of the population in the Peloponnese was 62 people per sq. km. — FAO, II:2.

44. *Chronikon*, v. 4700. In 1262-3 at Prinitsa (on the border of Skorta and of Elis) these knights defeated 6,000 Byzantine horsemen and numerous infantry. Cf. Medvedev, *Mistra*, 23; Miller, *Essays*, 91 (on St. Louis).

tion was really almost five times greater than that in the Morea, in the latter the Franks multiplied at the expense of newcomers from France and from other regions of the Latin Empire. By the middle of the century the Principality resembled a ship of rescue in a rough sea.⁴⁵ The immigrants, however, were often close relatives and kinsmen of the lords and vassals who had settled in the Morea and I agree with A. Bon (*Morée*, 295) that until the sixties the ruling elite was marked by "une forte unité". For two generations none of the Frankish families became extinct although not all of them followed the straight line; in some cases we do not even know the nature of the relation between certain of their representatives. Such a continuity was of great importance to the stability of ethnic factors in the intercourse with the local population during the period considered. It was moreover typical of some of the knights-vassals. The Lagny of Champagne established continuity in their fief near Aetos in Messenia as long as the second quarter of the century and maybe even later.⁴⁶

There were, indeed, others who found their death in the Morea instead of a new estate. Such was the fate of James of Avesnes who excelled in the defence of Corinth against the nightly sally of Sgouros and was heavily wounded in the leg. By the autumn of 1210 he was no longer among the living.⁴⁷

I would mention here also that similar continuity was typical of the noble wives of Moreot seigneurs as well. The famous passage

45. Cheetham, *Greece*, 71. On the high birth rate of the first half of the thirteenth century in Europe, see: L. Génicot, *Le XIII^e siècle européen* (Paris, 1968), 51, 56. The *stemmas* of the Frankish families of the same period had but a few branches. Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 696 ff.

46. The name derives from Lagny-sur-Marne, between Paris and Meaux. Cf. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 68-72.

47. James of Avesnes came with the knights of Flanders and Hainaut. Cf. *ibid.*, 153-4, adn I. Božilov in the Bulgarian edition of Villehardouin's *Chronicle*, p. 175-6. (see n. 5 on p. above)

of Muntaner's *Chronicle* which reads that the Princes of Achaea, and other knights, too, used to marry women from the best French families has long ago become a *locus classicus* for scholars.⁴⁸

2.2 Resistance and Co-operation. In view of the quantitative characteristics of the contact, its first phase, that of acquaintance, which in the case considered was marked by the victory of foreign conquerors, turns out to be of major importance. It established relations of dominance and submission and consequently predetermined the *selective* nature of the next phases. That was the stage which, as long as almost half a century, though in different regions, brought into direct contact the local population and the conquerors. It was then that the three possible types of behaviour appeared: the rejection of the alien (in other words — escape from the conquered territories or stable resistance whenever opportunity offered); occasional acquaintance that by no means excluded the alternative of rejection; and deeper acquaintance with selective adoption of the alien according to one's own norms of behaviour. It was then that the opposition 'we'-'they' took clear shape and became a fact present in the consciousness of both communities. Was there in the Peloponnese a psychological shock — the so-called 'frustration', that afflicted its inhabitants during (and because of) the conquest? Did resistance or co-operation prevail?⁴⁹

Active and passive resistance. Before examining the forms of resistance and their significance, it should be once more underlined that the *Chronicle of Morea* — the only source which gives a more detailed account of the conquest, is of a specific nature. The praising of the crusaders and their way of behaviour, their 'easy' advancement, should not mislead the reader. Extreme generalizations should be avoided, especially regarding the ob-

48. Ch. CCLXI, p. 627 in vol. 2 of Lady Goodenough's translation (London, 1921). Cf. the German translation of Dr. K. Fr. W. Lanz, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1842), 230-1.

49. S.N. Artanovskij, *op. cit.*, 141-2, 261 n. 224.

viously elaborated stereotype of submission of the Peloponnesian fortresses. Did actually everything remain within the range of common sense?

I have already mentioned that Akrocorinth and Monemvasia showed the longest and the hardest resistance. M. Kordoses is right to note that there were no other fortresses in Byzantine history which stood so long against an enemy's siege. Besides natural inaccessibility, the reasons for such behaviour were, in the first case, the "phenomenon Sgouros" and, in the second, the autonomy of the town. It seems that we cannot speak of frustration caused by the conquest but regarding the defender of Akrocorinth and the inhabitants of Monemvasia. The terrible death of Sgouros is convincing enough; it was one of the few events of the period of the conquest that gave birth to a legendary tradition among the local population since it is only mentioned in a source of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰

It was not a mere accident that Akrocorinth surrendered after Sgouros' death and was soon followed by Nauplion and Argos. Perhaps the resistance of their inhabitants was not rooted only in the terror that Sgouros governed them by. The Franks had to 'take up arms' even in the *chora* of Corinth, which was fortified at that time. Boniface's troubadour Raimbault of Vacqueyras could no longer "make fun of Greek cowardice" as he did at the site of Thermopylae.⁵¹ When Sgouros 'was informed that the Franks were coming, he led out of the town the women and the children as well as the little people who carried arms, and led them up into the castle of Corinth; and he remained in the town with all those who held arms to defend it ... Those who surrendered found mercy; those who continued to fight were killed by the

50. See the previous chapter. Cf. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 156; Akominatos, 2:182 ll. 2-5.

51. After Cheetham, *Greece*, 58.

sword.⁵² Niketas Choniates makes a vicious remark (611 ll. 26-7 [335]) that Sgouros 'was holed up in Akrocorinth like a shaggy beast, or a creeping serpent coiled up in its lair'. And his brother could not hold himself exclaiming that Akrocorinth was the acropolis of Hades, fortress of death, inn of the Erinyes ... (2:171 l 17)

Meanwhile Sgouros 'saw that James had not many people with him, and did not keep good watch. So one morning, at the break of day, he issued from the city in force, and got as far as the tents, and killed many before they could get to their armour.' The Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea* even claims that the *chora* was retaken by the Greeks but not for long.⁵³

It seems strange that among Sgouros' supporters we find the Latin archbishop of Neopatras. The letter of Innocent III of 21 August 1211 reveals that having already been ordained, he let his hair grow long and afterwards escaped to Sgouros in Akrocorinth and remained there for more than a year, killing a lot of Franks.⁵⁴

In fact Sgouros' resistance and that of the Monemvasiotes as well, would have been broken much earlier without the support of Michael I Doukas and of Nicaea respectively. But while Sgouros and the Epirote ruler at that time did not represent the old political regime with the purpose of continuity of power,⁵⁵ it was just the opposite with the Empire of Nicaea, especially in the forties of

52. *Chronikon*, vv. 1469-74, 1486-7 (111, 112).

53. *Libro*, paras. 94-5. Cf. *Livre*, paras. 101-2; *Chronikon*, vv. 1528-39; Villehardouin, para. 331 (87). A Savvides (*MGEI*, 76) dates the sally at the end of 1204 or in March 1205.

54. *Reg.*, XIV, in *PL* 216:460. Cf. XIII, cols. 353-4: about some Latins in the armies of Michael I and Theodore Lascaris who were threatened by excommunication; col. 222 (*ibid.*): about some Latins who having arrived in the Peloponnese afterwards rashly ranged themselves on the side of the Greeks and fought their own folk.

55. Ferluga, 'Plemstvo', 119.

the century. However, the rights and traditional way of life were of no less importance to the inhabitants of Monemvasia than the links with Nicaea (including its Patriarch). The preparation of the siege by both sides betrayed supreme tension of military and moral resources. The sceptical attitude of the Monemvasiotes concerning the eventual success of the Franks met Villehardouin's official vow not to desert the battlefield until he conquered the acropolis. The attacks of the enemy lasted day and night; he destroyed houses and killed people (in the lower town). Hunger forced the defenders to eat mice and cats and, finally, even their own bodies. In the face of death, deprived of any help, they took the decision to surrender. The shock of the capitulation laid the beginnings of a local tradition that pointed to the spot on the coast where Villehardouin had left his cavalry.⁵⁶ Even the unprecedented conditions of surrender could not, as it was emphasized, satisfy the Monemvasiotes, who found naval activities in the remote town of Pegai more attractive than the conquered native land. Monemvasia remained the only Peloponnesian town among the defenders of which was included the local archbishop as well. He did not leave with the first emigrants, but the siege had taken up all the income of the church and the future income was assigned to the Catholic bishop. So emigration turned to be the only outcome for him, too, but his further fate is unknown.⁵⁷

There was no clearly marked dividing line between active and passive resistance (desertion, emigration) in the course of the conquest of the inner part of the peninsula as well. The struggle of John Chamaretos both against the invaders (perhaps as early as his probable presence in Lakedaïmon) and his pro-Latin compatriots finally ended in his escape to the court of Theodore Komnenos. What is important, however, is his considerateness

56. Miller, *Essays*, 233.

57. Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 348. Cf. Angold, 'Greeks', 81; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 32, 49-50. On links with Nicaea before the surrender, see *ibid.*, 90, 95.

«πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμανίαν» — very much like the bishop of Maina, who 'being a Roman' was found in his see in the beginning of 1223.⁵⁸

This type of best manifested resistance was characteristic of social forces that either had traditions of self-government (Monemvasia, the Slavs in the Taygetos) or had achieved real independence before or shortly after the fall of Constantinople (Sgouros, Michael Doukas, the Chamateroi, the son of the Greek seigneur in Messenia). These forces were interested in, and to a certain extent capable of, struggling against the Franks. Some of them over a period of time became a unifying centre of local resistance (Michael Doukas), but they could as well turn to be, because of previous activities, obstructive to the shaping of an anti-Latin coalition. In Central Greece local archons supported Sgouros' enemy — Boniface of Montferrat, who having married the widow of Isaak II Angelos seemed more acceptable a person than the Peloponnesian 'tyrant'.⁵⁹

This type of behaviour was also typical of Doxapatres Boutsaras, the defender of Araklovon, whose persistence relied on the unique topographical location of the fortress and its strategical importance. That was the only stronghold in Western Peloponnese which was subjected to a prolonged siege. If we accept its identification with the fortress mentioned in the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, "Rusellebo" (para. 188), it follows that it held out five whole years. The same version pictures Boutsaras as so brave and mighty that his mace could not be lifted in one hand and his armour weighed 150 pounds. He would often leave the fortress to fight the Franks and would kill a lot of them (para. 111). There exist a couple of local legends concerning this impregnable fortress. One tells how William of Champlitte fell in

58. Chomatianos, col. 92, 95.

59. Miller, *Essays*, 58; P. Gounarides, 'Οἱ πολιτικές προϋποθέσεις', 155 (see n. 100 on p. above)

love with Boutsaras' daughter but she chose to throw herself from the tower of the fortress. According to a second legend, the castle withstood the Franks with seven soldiers only; it could not have been taken but by trickery.⁶⁰

Another type of active resistance was demonstrated by the unknown defenders of some strongholds who made a serious attempt to preserve their freedom. These were Arkadiá, Nikli and perhaps Kalamata. In the *bourkos* of Arkadiá the crusaders did away with those who failed to escape, but the fortress resisted for "bien une semaine" longer, due to its location, the donjon and the bravery of the defenders. It was only after the four siege-engines appeared that defence became impossible and the fortress surrendered on condition that the 'Arkadinoi' with their dependencies be granted immunity (v. 1789), while the French version tells that "cescun deust avoir son tenement ainxi comme il le tenoit devant" (para. 116).

In contrast to the Greek version which only hints that the fortress of Kalamata was captured by force (vv. 1713-4) and its defenders surrendered on conditions already known to us, Villehardouin's narrative gives some more details. It tells that the castle 'was very strong and fair ... it troubled them for a very long space, but they remained before it till it was taken. Then did more of the Greeks of the land surrender than had done aforetime.'⁶¹

Nikli was situated in the plain, near ancient Tegea. When its inhabitants learned that the Franks were coming they prepared for the siege. Three days passed without any success for the enemy and he had to set against the high walls trebuchets and scrofas while Geoffrey of Villehardouin 'swore by his oath' to take the

60. Cheetham, *Greece*, 62; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 86, 100; id., 'Πελοποννησιακοί θρύλοι και ιστορία', in 'Σύνδειπνον' in honour of D.S. Loukatos (Ioannina, 1988), 102-5.

61. Para. 330 (87). Cf. *Livre*, para. 113 (the Champenois promised them "de tenir cescun selonc son estat"); *Libro*, para. 113.

fortress by the sword with no mercy to the defenders whatsoever. When the Romans serving in the Frankish army heard of it they were fast to inform their relatives in the town that in case of further resistance 'all would be killed'. Then the Nikliots decided to surrender on condition that 'they would keep their patrimonies' (vv. 2027-48).

The resistance of the rest fortresses in the western part of the Peloponnese proved to be too weak: their siege did not last for more than a few hours. Greater was the resistance of the strongholds in the hinterland. The importance of location and fortification is more than evident. Any town that wished to survive should have been fortified or, at least, situated near a fortress. What is more, the fortresses in the plains did not have any advantages as compared to the naturally fortified ones which the Franks had often to lay siege to for a long time. It was not by chance that the western coast of the peninsula was conquered in less than a year and the only open battle was won by the crusaders despite the numerical superiority of the enemy.⁶²

The change from active to passive resistance and even to recognition of the alien as a new political force was not rooted only in the military and strategical factors of the conquest. There surrendered also fortresses that had serious chances for a successful defence, like Patras for example. It is possible that some of the fortresses on the western coast did not resist because they had been conquered once by the Franks — at the time of the co-operation of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and the Greek seigneur. But the key to the rapid success of the crusaders in the first phase of the conquest was also in the efficient functioning of the socio-psychological mechanisms through which the new political power put into practice its rule. These were the mechanisms that pushed the realization of the functions of authority of power, which even under the conditions of a defective political system, might

62. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 112, 156, 158, 168.

guarantee its support by virtue of the belief that it was this system that best contributed to the protection of social interests and ideals of its supporters.⁶³ Thus the archons of Peloponnesian towns and regions who by oath acknowledged the authority of the Prince in return could not only keep their houses and hereditary estates but could also make their first step towards an integration into the new ruling class. Of course, socio-psychological aspects represent only the outer face of this transient type of behaviour. Besides the common economic interests of both sides there were also similar social positions and links that provided a common language between the representatives of two feudal societies.⁶⁴

It should be noted that there were cases of passive resistance of archons after the Franks had established themselves on Greek territory. Chalkoutzes, already known to us, who in Michael Choniates' words hated the Latins, abandoned his children and property on the island of Euboea (2: 276-80). It is highly probable that refugees moved from the conquered to still free regions, for example Monemvasia and its area. We cannot be sure what precisely the social status of the Moreots who found shelter in the court of Theodore Komnenos was. But in December 1222 the Epirote ruler spoke of them as being prominent and wealthy people. He invited George Daimonogiannes to send his daughter to John Chamaretos who had already been rescued at Arta. There she would meet not a few familiar persons.⁶⁵

It is hardly probable, however, that the traffic of refugees between the Peloponnese and unconquered Byzantine territories was very intensive. Perhaps there existed some cases of 'go-and-return'

63. V.V. Kramnik, 'K voprosu o psihologičeskom aspekte istorii političeskikh dvizenij', in *Istorija i psihologija* (Moscow, 1971), 218 ff.

64. Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 87; id., 'Plemstvo', 124 (but cf. p. 127); P. Gounarides, op. cit., 143-4, 149. Contra: Jacoby, 'Encounter', 899; id., 'États', 6 ff.

65. Chomatianos, cols. 93-4; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 31 ff. with all the references to the recently published letters of John of Naupaktos (by E. Bees-Sepherlis in BNJ 21 [1971-4]).

in neighbouring areas — for example across the Gulf of Patras. The emigration process affected mainly the towns. The study of H. Antoniadis-Bibicou demonstrates that the first half of the thirteenth century was not a time of serious demographic changes. Only ten villages were deserted.⁶⁶ As for the social elite, there are some data on a movement in the opposite direction as well. Towards 1215, after the death of Michael I, his widow, afraid of her brother-in-law, emigrated to the Peloponnese together with the future Michael II; probably she went to Daimonogiannes who was θεῖος of her husband, though known for his pro-Latin orientation.⁶⁷

It seems that passive resistance was most typical of the high clergy in the Peloponnese. The archbishop of Patras was not among the defenders of the town. J. Hussey asserts that first he took refuge in the monastery of Megaspilaion northeast of Kalavryta.⁶⁸ Despite the moderate tolerance of Innocent III's instructions very few of the high Byzantine priests acknowledged the supreme papal jurisdiction. The great majority of them emigrated to Epiros or Nicaea while others wandered around unable to find permanent shelter. Some letters of Pope Honorius III point to a somewhat different type of passive resistance among the Greek

66. 'Villages désertés en Grèce: un bilan provisoire', in *Villages désertés et histoire économique, XIe-XVIIIe ss.* (Paris, 1965), 364 n. 2. Cf. D.M. Nicol, 'Refugees, Mixed Population and Local Patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia After the Fourth Crusade', in id., *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography* (VRL, 1986), no. IV:17. We do not have concrete evidence about the scope of emigration from towns.

67. Kordoses, *Conquest*, 104 n. 77; Angold, 'Greeks', 84.

68. In *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 192. Cf. Akominatos, 2: 356 ll. 21-4 and Bon, *Morée*, 470 n. 2 who claims that the monastery was established as early as the end of the thirteenth century. It is already proved that the man was not Euthymios Tornikes as many scholars have accepted before. Cf. A. Ilieva, 'Η Πάτρα...', 536-7. J. Darrouzès (in *Lettres et discours...*, 35 n. 17) thought of another Tornikes, George, to have been that disappeared archbishop of Patras.

clergy. Remaining in their sees, Greek priests in fact showed disobedience. The case of Theodore, the bishop of Chalkis, was an exception. There was a greater chance for peace and continuity in the village eparchies and monasteries, especially in mountainous areas.⁶⁹

As I have already noted in the previous chapter, the end of the period considered was marked by the first manifestations of the highest type of resistance to a foreign conquest/domination — the armed revolt. If the sources do give some information about the stirring of the local population after the battle of Pelagonia and the rebellious activities of the Skortinoi in 1263-1264, it seems far-fetched to claim that there were “revolutionary movements” in the peninsula, especially before the middle of the century. Let us not forget that Western consciousness considered disloyalty as equal to revolt, the political implications quite often being not included at all. And if indeed “in the Peloponnese war never stopped”, this statement may refer to the dragged-out conquest and the region as a whole for this long period but not to any unceasing rebellions of the Moreots.⁷⁰

Summarizing the acts of resistance at the time of the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnese we cannot neglect the question of their supposed relation with the feelings of Greek patriotism and its manifestation in Nicaea. The thesis of A. Vakalopoulos that the Empire in Asia Minor was the cradle of Greek national con-

69. Cf. J. Hussey, *op. cit.*, 195, 196; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1: 329-30; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 63, 67. Of Honorius' letters, see no. 96, no. 115 (ed. A. L. Tautu). And, finally, Fr. Thiriet ('Symbiose', 25) had some ground to assert that the peninsula had had fewer demographic potentialities in comparison with other territories invaded by the crusaders; therefore its resistance was weaker.

70. Here I differ from M. Kordoses who, based on the already cited passage of Sanudo, on vv. 5658-60 of the Greek version and para. 392 of the French one, (*Southern Greece*, 40-1, 92), claims that “three revolutionary movements definitely took place in the Peloponnese, one, probably, covering the whole peninsula after the defeat of Pelagonia and two others in the region of Skorta”.

sciousness is well-known and supported by many scholars.⁷¹ However, the authorities on Nicaea are more sceptical and have enough reasons to recognize in the revival of philhellenism a Byzantine political, religious and intellectual opposition to Latin Catholicism.⁷² Recently the Byzantine notions of ‘Roman’, ‘Hellene’ and ‘Greek’, and the characteristics of Roman ταυτότητα — the common past, the Greek language and Orthodoxy, were again studied in their complex interrelation.⁷³

In view of the task of my study it is important to take into account the peculiarities of the Byzantine notion of freedom and its manifestation in the resistance to the Franks. As A. Kazhdan puts it, the Byzantines conceived freedom mainly as a fiscal privilege which was as important as the judicial immunity in the West. At the same time, Christianity was also regarded as freedom in contrast to the pagan world. The bipolar opposition ‘freedom-slavery’ was again estimated in relation to political power; slavery was considered an honourable status, as the inhabitants of the Empire were not free citizens but slaves of the *basileus* and of the Christian god. Real saints were slaves of Christ. It was no coincidence that western vassalage was conceived as voluntary bondage; Manuel I Komnenos saw no difference between a δοῦλος, an ἐθελόδουλος and a *ligius*.⁷⁴

71. A.E. Vacalopoulos, *The Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). Cf. I.N. Moles, ‘Nationalism and Byzantine Greece’, *GRBS* 10/1 (1969), 95-107.

72. J. Irmscher, ‘Philellen im mitteligriechische Sprachgebrauch’, *BF* II (1967), 248 ff.; id., ‘Nikāa als “Zentrum des griechischen Patriotismus”’, *RESEE* 8 (1970), 33-47; Angold, *Government*, 29-32. Cf. G. Bakalov, *Srednovekovnijat bulgarski vladetel* (Sofia, 1985), 62-3.

73. G.G. Litavrin, ‘Vizantijcy i slavjane: vzaimnye predstavlenija’, in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (Washington, 1986), 373-4; L. Mavrommantes, ‘Ρωμαϊκή ταυτότητα, ελληνική ταυτότητα (II' - IE' αι.)’, *S* 7 (1987), 183-91.

74. A. Kazhdan, ‘The Concept of Freedom (eleutheria) and Slavery (douleia) in Byzantium’, in *La notion de liberté au Moyen âge. Islam, Byzance, Occident*

The opinion that the Franks enslaved the Byzantines was not uncommon in the sources from the age of the conquest.⁷⁵ According to L. Mavrommatis during the frangokratia there appeared a new understanding of freedom. In the thirteenth century the Byzantine intellectual elite appealed to the Emperor of Nicaea to save the Byzantines in the conquered lands and to bring freedom to those 'parts' of the Empire.⁷⁶

What was the situation like in the Morea? Was it true that Sgouros, Michael Doukas and John Chamaretos were the "leaders of a Greek national party" and contributed to the "revival of Byzantine national consciousness" by turning the anti-Latin feelings into a "kernel of new Romanism"?⁷⁷ Until now no evidence (to our knowledge) has been found which can prove their "Hellenic patriotism". Niketas Choniates (637 l. 35) declares them to be nothing but traitors to the fatherland and, as we have seen, Corinth might well have surrendered because of Michael's interference after the death of Sgouros. It was later that Theodore Komnenos, having rescued Chamaretos, who was loyal to the *Roman* ideal, made plans together with him to free the Peloponnese and urged Daimonogiannes himself to join them. Even earlier, Theodore claimed, the latter had asked for and had received his promise for co-operation.⁷⁸

There is interesting evidence in the *Chronicle of Morea* about the behaviour of the Greek archons during the conquest. It is important to note that while the French version steadily styles the Byzantines as 'Greeks', the Greek version besides the traditional

(Paris, 1985), 218 ff.; L. Mavrommatis, 'La notion de liberté à Byzance à l'époque des Paléologues', in *ibid.*, 258; J. Ferluga, 'La ligesse dans l'Empire byzantin. Contribution à l'étude de la féodalité à Byzance', *ZRVI VII* (1961), 115.

75. Akominatos, 2:169 l. 25-171 l. 16. Cf. Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 25-6.

76. L. Mavrommatis, *op. cit.*, 259.

77. Hoffmann, *Rudimente*, 59-60; H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975), 101.

78. Chomatianos, cols. 93-4.

'Romans', 'the Roman folk', mentions several times the name 'Hellenes' as well (e.g. vv. 795, 1557, 1774). However, in relation to her period considered this name always covers the ancient Greeks. Most instructive is the explanation given for the time and the reasons that brought the name of 'Romans' to the Greeks. 'Now the Franks and the Romans maintained one faith ... when many years had passed, those Romans, who had the name Hellenes, thus they were named — they were very boastful and they still kept it — took from Rome the name of the Romans. Because of this boastfulness and this haughtiness, they deserted the canon of the Church of Rome and they stand as schismatics, only bragging do they have.' (vv. 789-900 [90]). It is hard to believe that a Moreot Greek could be the author of these words no matter how far integrated he might have been in the Frankish *milieu*. On the other hand, while the Greek version definitely associates the donjon of Arkadiá with an origin «ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων» (v. 1774), in the French one there stands "de l'ovre des jaïans" (para. 115). And it is well-known that as late as the twentieth century the Greek folklore tradition imagined the ancient Greeks as giants.

Only once during the conquest is the consciousness of the local social elite presented as of an ethnic nature. The Greek version tells that after the capture of Lakedaimon and the raids in Tzakonia and Vatika Geoffrey I of Villehardouin summoned the archons, 'the leaders of Morea', and asked them which of the fortresses had not yet submitted to him («ἐπροσκυνῆσαν»). The answer viewed Corinth, Nauplion, Monemvasia and Argos. Those castles were very strong and well protected; they would never let the enemy conquer them «μὲ πόλεμον». 'Well, if our lord wishes to capture the castles and that we, the race of Romans, shall die his slaves, this we ask, and bid you grant it to us by your oath in writing so that we and our children will have it: that, from now on, no Frank will force us to change our faith for the faith of the Franks, nor our customs and the law of the Romans.' (vv. 2080-95 [132]). And Geoffrey of Villehardouin responded to that request. It should be emphasized that συνήθεια is a calque for *customs* and is present in a number of sources

like the *Tocco Chronicle*, the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, and the *Chronicle* of Leontios Makhairas. In the *Chronicle of Morea* it is used 28 times and refers to the vulgar and written law along with the natural habits of both Franks and Greeks. They all followed strictly their συνήθεια.⁷⁹

And so: by the sixties of the thirteenth century we cannot indicate in the Morea the appearance of a "Hellenic patriotism" in the classical sense of the term — as a conscious national feeling. Byzantine tradition and Orthodoxy, these were the signs of the 'we'-entity, while in the behaviour of the archons social interests came to the fore. Save for the passage examined above, the terms of surrender always aimed at avoiding devastation and murder; the archons should keep their property. Evidently, those who fled away or disobeyed had their lands confiscated by the conquerors.⁸⁰

The price of these concessions was imprinted in the formula that the archons, and often the common folk as well, should swear the oath «δοῦλοι [to Champlitte or to Villehardouin] ν' ἀποθάουν» or more generally — «νὰ προσκυνήσουν», especially when unfortified settlements were viewed. It is quite apparent that in the Morea, too, western vassalage was understood in accordance with the Byzantine concept of freedom and slavery, the accent being put on the element of 'kneeling'. And it is out of the question that vassalage and homage could find no place in the relations between the Roman Emperor and his subjects. That is why in connection with the conquest the Greek version does not make use of the calques ἄνθρωπος, ἀνθρωπέα as well as the transliterations ὁμα(ν)τζε and λίζιος, all the more having in

79. M.J. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority...', 309-12; P.I. Zepos, 'Τὰ "συνήθεια" εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως', in *Praktika* II/1, 117. On the meaning of συνήθεια = εθος in religious terminology, see J. Darrouzès (ed.), *Documents inédits d'ecclésiologie byzantine* (Paris, 1966), 429.

80. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 441.

mind that at first the archons were integrated into the group of the vassals who owed simple homage only.⁸¹ This, of course, should not lead to the conclusion that relations of the vassalage type were totally absent from Byzantine private practice.

Therefore, we may conclude that resistance as a form of contact with the conquerors of the Morea was not due to the existence of patriotic feelings of "national self-consciousness" expressed by the leaders of Peloponnesian society — the magnates and the archons. It is quite another point whether we may discern the genesis of similar moods in the period considered and whether they did not come from a lower social stratum. The elements of legendary nature in the Moreot tradition that have been mentioned above suggest a positive answer to this question. This refers particularly to the Herculean (of a giant?) strength of Boutsaras and the local self-consciousness of the Monembasiotes.

Active co-operation. This type of behaviour manifested itself in two main forms, the boundaries of which often disappeared: delivering of information that helped to a great extent the success of the conquest, and direct participation in the army of the Franks and in land reclamation.

The first form is of special interest not only having in mind the language barrier. It is known that information among people in its two types (stating — information about facts, and motivating — request, advice, permission-prohibition, demand) is filtered through confidence and suspicion. The sphere of confidence where suggestion as one of the main ways of 'infecting' dominates is

81. Ibid., 469. D. Jacoby underlines that in their turn Western sources from the time of the Fourth Crusade style the relations "Emperor/subjects" in Byzantium from the viewpoint of vassalage. But as early as the tenth century in Byzantine sources the word ἄνθρωπος, was used to denominate a vassal, too. And it is known that προσκύνησις was an ancient ritual of bowing down to the Emperor. On this ritual in the Latin Empire of Constantinople, see: B. Hendrickx, 'Les institutions de l'Empire latin de Constantinople (1204-1261): Le pouvoir impérial (l'empereur, les régents, l'impératrice)', *Βυζαντινὰ* 6 (1974), 122-3.

the 'we'-sphere. And suspicion is the first phenomenon in the series of preserving psychological 'anti-actions'. It is followed by counter-suggestion, the psychological mechanism of negative reaction.⁸² It is also known that the impact of the image of the Greeks, created as early as Roman times, was rather steady and lasting both in the West and in Byzantium. This image presented Greeks as treacherous and cowardly. Niketas Choniates tells of Manuel I Komnenos (199 ll. 45-8 [113]) that he compared his fighting compatriots to Western mercenaries as 'earthen pots' to 'striking kettles'. The Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* does not fall behind. 'The Roman race from the beginning [of time] is always found in much deceit and great infidelities' (vv. 593-4 [85]). Narrating the murder of Alexios IV its author bursts into a real anti-Roman diatribe. 'Who will believe in them, in their oath or in their word, who will consider them Christians as they say and maintain?' (vv. 823-4 [91]). No less spite does he breathe he about the deed of Michael Palaiologos who killed his 'little lord', 'the son, indeed of the basileus Laskaris'. 'Who will hear of it and say that men who keep neither to the truth nor to an oath believe in God?' (vv. 1245-62 [103]).

And these very Romans turned out to have been trustful and scrupulous advisers of the advancing Frankish army! Two reasons might have caused the contradiction. It is quite possible that the *Chronicle* well exaggerates the scope of co-operation with the local population, and this with the purpose of presenting the conquest as an easy-going knightly cavalcade (after the terror in Constantinople that is not even hinted at). However, rendering a legendary tradition, along with invention it implied reality as well, where, certainly the help of the Moreots had not been a rare phenomenon. The routes to the hinterland, the features of relief and the numerical paucity of the conquerors demanded the active interference of

82. B.F. Poršnev, 'Kontrsuggestija i istorija', in *Istorija i psihologija...*, 9, 13, 25.

the local population, the lack of which might well have hampered the progress of the conquest.

There is no need to treat *in extenso* all cases indicated by the *Chronicle* when the Franks gathered information and asked the Moreots for advice. Once these were 'local Romans' who knew the locality and the condition of its castles (vv. 1424-6 [109]); another time, they were the inhabitants of Andravida who directed the Franks to Corinth. 'For, if God were to grant Corinth do homage, all the other castles of the land of Morea, without sword and battle, would do homage' (vv. 1442-50 [110]). Geoffrey of Villehardouin was informed of the 'truth' by the archons in the army of Champlitte: Corinth, Argos and Nauplion were strong castles and could not be taken by assault, but 'good men' said that 'from Patras on as far as Korone ... you may pass freely with all your armies' (vv. 1575-90 [115]). It is worth stressing the behaviour of the Greeks in the Frankish army before the start of the battle in the plain of Kalamata. They were the people who informed the crusaders about the Byzantine troops gathered nearby (vv. 1726-7). It was the Greek archons who gave an opinion on the need for a fleet and their few words of advice were actually accepted (vv. 1742-5). As we saw, the Greeks themselves contributed to the fall of Nikli and when possible tried to spare the efforts and sacrifices of the Franks (e.g., against the Melingoi on the Taygetos — vv. 2992 ff.).

The archons could protect some districts from devastation, particularly those in which they had estates — Elis, Mesarea, Tzakonia and Vatika, by their willing surrender to the conquerors. They certainly did not render their support during the first phase of the conquest only, as J. Ferluga claims.⁸³ Though we cannot tell what exactly the pro-Latin activity of George Daimonogiannes was like, his behaviour speaks for itself. Depiste the quibbles and the promises he remained true to his bearing and tried persistently

83. In 'Aristocratie', 78.



to get rid of his son-in-law, John Chamaretos, by all possible means — even by his own daughter. Gabriel Larynx, himself on the side of the Franks (he was allowed to meet subjects of Theodore Komnenos), advised the emissary of the Epirote ruler not to visit Daimonogiannes, who might betray him. Only a confident cleric might take Theodore's letter to his θεῖος. The letter was delivered in the local church and in the sole presence of the bishop of Maïna. The controversy between Daimonogiannes and Chamaretos was obviously known to many people in the region, if we judge by the words of the Epirote emissary before the archbishop of Ochrid.⁸⁴

The social background of the co-operation with the Franks is most apparent in the joint activity of Geoffrey of Villehardouin and the Greek lord in the winter of 1204-1205 as well as in the participation of the Greek archons in the distribution of lands conquered. Even if we accept the suggestion of R.-J. Loenertz that Villehardouin and his men were taken for mercenaries and were perhaps proposed a wage for their help, the behaviour of the Greek seigneur does not show any better. He was sincere enough to admit: '“Fair sir, the Franks have captured Constantinople, and elected an Emperor. If thou wilt make alliance with me, I will deal with thee in all good faith, and we together will conquer much land.”' So they made alliance or oath ... and conquered together a great part of the country, and Geoffrey of Villehardouin found much good faith in the Greek.'⁸⁵

As for the six archons who together with six more Franks distributed the 'lands and the pronoias' (i.e. the fiefs), the fact needs no commentary. We would emphasize, however, that these were the 'highly merited' archons of Elis and Mesarea and the

84. Chomatianos, col. 96.

85. Villehardouin, para. 325 (85). On the suggestion of Loenertz, see his 'Aux origines...', 379 n. 2.

lands that did not remain in their hands.⁸⁶ Further on, before the departure of Champlitte for France, the Greek version ascribes the distribution of lands to a commission of 'two bishops, two bannerets, and five more archons' under the guidance of Geoffrey of Villehardouin.⁸⁷ Whatever the date of this distribution and the beginning of the register of fiefs may have been, it is highly probable that local archons were consulted every time when new lands were acquired in the course of the conquest. Thus the keeping of their own estates turned them into willing accomplices of the Franks, which in turn opened to them the way to the feudal hierarchy of the Principality. The behaviour of the conquerors themselves was also of great importance: it stimulated the co-operation of the archons. Though rather rigorous, P. Gounarides is indeed right to claim that if there were any changes in the Peloponnese, it was the constant collaboration of local lords that the Franks "provoked".⁸⁸

Summarizing the reaction of the Peloponnesian population, which certainly knew about the doom of Constantinople and about the advancing of the crusaders towards the Isthmos, we should mention that according to their social status the inhabitants of the peninsula represented a large scale of various attitudes; from horror and deliberate resistance to passive protest and permanent co-operation. And if the impression of the comparatively bloodless nature of the conquest yet prevails — quite often created namely by local co-operation, the reasons should be looked for not only

86. Vv. 1639-50 (inverted commas are mine). *Livre*, para. 107 attributes these actions to Geoffrey of Villehardouin, to 'many other noble men' of Champlitte's army, and to 'noble and wise Greeks of the country'.

87. Vv. 1830 ff.; *Livre*, para. 120 (four from the Greek archons among the wisest in the country); *Libro*, para. 116 (it includes the archbishop of Patras, Geoffrey himself, the Chamberlaine and two Greeks). Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 82 ff. who places those events before the departure of Champlitte in 1208, while G. Fedalto (*Chiesa*, 1:332-3) dates them in 1206.

88. P. Gounarides, op. cit., 151.

in the characteristics of the sources but also in the state of the Peloponnese before the autumn of 1204 as well as in the policy of the conquerors.

2.3 Common Sense, Wisdom and Realism? When evaluating this policy special attention should be paid to its instruments that provided the efficacy of the new power. These were the mechanisms of making decisions, of distribution of resources and values, of constraint and discipline. In psychological aspect we should bear in mind that suggestion over people is the strongest if it is conducted by a person who in some way or another represents the group making the suggestion. Belief, evidence, and violence as means of countersuggestion may encourage or prevent the assimilating or imitation.⁸⁹

It was already mentioned that Boniface of Montferrat evoked sympathy in certain circles of Greek society. Niketas Choniates bitterly describes (609 ll 81-2) the reception of the Marquis in Boeotia which was near to a national celebration. According to some scholars it was none other than Emperon Henry of Flanders who not only tolerated Greeks but even entered Greek folklore.⁹⁰ What was the impression on the Moreots created by the almost constantly moving Frankish army, especially by its commanders — William of Champlitte and Geoffrey of Villehardouin? Had they actually in turn accepted the model of Boniface's policy?⁹¹

Logically enough, following his aim, the author of the Greek version is bound to tell 'the deeds of good soldiers' (v. 1349 [106]). Here, as from time to time in the French version too, the princes of the Villehardouin family are represented at their best. No wonder, to quote the words of a modern scholar, that the Villehar-

89. B.F. Poršnev, 'Kontrsuggestija...', 11-2, 35.

90. M.I. Manousakas, 'Τὸ ἐλληνικὸ δημοτικὸ τραγούδι γιὰ τὸ βασιλιά 'Ερρίκο τῆς Φλάντρας', *Λαογραφία* 14 (1952): 3-52.

91. Ferluga, 'Plemstvo', 121.

douins were "the most competent Latin leaders". Geoffrey I, whom the Chronicle often mistakes for his uncle, is praised above everybody. He appears to have possessed all the virtues of matured knighthood; by 1205 he was only about 35 years old and died most likely between September 1225 and April 1227.⁹² Geoffrey was 'a praiseworthy man' (v. 1514 [113]), 'shrewd', 'wise', 'reasonable in all things' (vv. 1576 [115], 1611 [115], 1887 [125], 2073 — «παμφρόνιμος» [132] and «φρόνιμος εἰς τοὺς πάντας» — 2105; 2119 — «γνωστικός»); he had 'arrangements, wisdom and graces' (v. 1846 [124]. 'They all loved him so much, small and great, because he was estimable and just to all that the most prudent among them took counsel as to how the suzerainty of the land of Morea might remain in his hands ... "rather than that there should come from France some plunderer, inexperienced and indiscreet, to throw us into confusion"' (vv. 2101-7 [132]).⁹³ When Geoffrey died 'great lamentation broke out in all Morea, for they had considered him of great worth and they loved him deeply for his good rule and for his wisdom' (vv. 2461-4 [143]).⁹⁴

Compared to him William of Champlitte, about ten years older,⁹⁵ is pictured in the Chronicle (that calls him simply the 'Champenois') first of all as a conqueror. In contrast to his brother,

92. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 32, 41. In the Middle Ages it was believed that reaching sixty the knight should retire. On the statement just quoted, see M. Barber, 'Western Attitudes...', 125.

93. The passage follows Champlitte's departure. The French version tells about, predominantly, the wisdom of Geoffrey (paras. 108, 109, 135, 171, 173). The Aragonese version (para. 151) is a mere "niggard" in this respect. Even in connection with the episode described its author thinks that Villehardouin had been blinded by the sin of avaricity and that is why he broke his oath given to Champlitte (to rule the Morea while the latter was absent, as a loyal "baux" and vassal).

94. Cf. *Livre*, para. 175. The Aragonese version (para. 189) is again laconic.

95. In 1186 he was mentioned as a vassal of the duke of Burgundy. Cf. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 216.

Odo, who in Corfu openly declared against the proceeding of the expedition in the direction of Constantinople,⁹⁶ William was remembered by the Moreot tradition with his deliberate intention to conquer lands in Romania (vv. 1382-3, 1620, 1819 — as well as 'to receive glory and honor'). Even more: before the archons of the plain of Morea who gathered at Andravida Geoffrey of Villehardouin declared that they do not have a lord to ally with but they should recognize their Emperor in William himself! (vv. 1620-1). His image was also dominated by 'prudence' and 'wisdom' (vv. 1437, 1809 — «φρόνιμος νεούτσικος», 1813). He was an 'outstanding lord' (v. 1504 [112]). The passage that narrates how the archons of unfortified Andravida together with the common folk welcomed Champlitte with crosses and icons in hand speaks for itself. In his turn the Champenois swore that 'he would not act unjustly towards them, nor would they receive damage to their estates, but would have honor, gifts, and great beneficences' (v. 1430-40 [110]).⁹⁷ He showed benevolence whenever the people of the Peloponnese inclined to willing obedience. After the Franks conquered the lower town of Corinth, Champlitte ordered 'a proclamation drawn up, declaring that those of the towns in the neighborhood of Corinth that would do homage and would receive him for lord would have honor and beneficence, a fine reception; but those who resorted to war would not find mercy' (vv. 1490-5 [112]).⁹⁸

It should be emphasized that while Champlitte was in the Morea, there were no known contradictions between him and Villehardouin and this had its good effect for the progress of the conquest and for the impression made by the two noble knights. We can trust the Chronicle at this point since Villehardouin's uncle himself

96. Villehardouin, paras. 113-4.

97. Cf. *Livre*, para. 93; *Libro*, paras. 107-8 (the messengers of the land of Andravida reach Champlitte in Patras).

98. Cf. *Livre*, para. 98; *Chronikon*, v. 1635.

tells us (para. 327) that Champlitte was a very good friend of his nephew. Geoffrey appeared as such a loyal adherent and adviser of his seigneur, and so often took the initiative, that one might think it was he and not Champlitte who was the main protagonist.⁹⁹

The idealization, being a product of the social background of the Chronicle, is more than obvious but the methods of the Frankish conquest proved to be of no less importance. The principle of 'voluntary compulsion' was evidently used quite often. The suggestion by speech, however, sometimes was ineffective as compared to the sword, especially against well fortified settlements. Persistent resistance was punished without mercy, and if followed by surrender required an apology (e.g. vv. 1788-90).

Generally, the Franks adapted their tactics to the geographical peculiarities of the peninsula and the fortification of the attacked settlements. They tried their best to make use of the navy by choosing the terrain for landing and dismissing the ships when the latter were no longer necessary. The crusaders often resorted to the assistance of the local population and did everything to spare their resources. Thus, following the configuration of relief along the west coast and also inward, they did not waste time in positioning themselves for war. They aimed at protecting their rear and at preparing concentrated raids against the strongholds which received the first attacks and the shorter sieges.

It is again in accordance with western feudal practice that in the course of the conquest William of Champlitte and Geoffrey of Villehardouin consulted their vassals and thus the submission

99. Cf. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 34 n. 216. A question still remains open: maybe Geoffrey was so active because he had already had certain experience in the western part of the peninsula during the winter of 1204-1205. On this one-sided picture of the two princes and its background, see A.P. Kazhdan, 'Some Notes on the "Chronicle of the Tocco"', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Milano, 1982), 175. On the real behaviour of the ruling elite as seen by the lettered men in Byzantium, see: Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 25.

of the Morea appeared as a collective deed. Quite often these 'consultations' meant actually an agreement with the advice of the local people.

Military technique and the manner of carrying out military operations were of major importance as well for the behaviour of the Franks. It is more than once that the Greek version mentions the heralding of the battle by trumpets («τὰ σαλπίγγια» — vv. 1480, 1768). The knights preferred attacks opened by day-time. The nightly sally of Sgouros found them quite unprepared. Most likely the use of infantry was more or less limited by the nature of the relief. The *Chronicle of Morea* always specifies the capture of horses from the enemy even in the battles of the sixties. The real purpose of military operations was the seizure/defence of fortified settlements. Save for the battle in the plain of Kalamata the conquest was actually a struggle between the army of the knights and the garrisons of the Moreot castles. As we saw, the military organization of the theme of Hellas and Peloponnesos did not rely on an efficacious field army.¹⁰⁰

There is no evidence of how the appearance of the knights might have impressed the Moreots. It was only Corinthia that had any previous "experience" of a military body of this type. If we judge by the behaviour of Sgouros and of his warriors, rescue was sought behind the strong walls of the fortresses. Most of the latter were besieged by arbalesters and trebuchets; wooden ladders and scrofas ("τζάγγρα"; in the *Chronicle of Morea* also "τζάγρα" — vv. 854, 1482, 7070) is mentioned by Anna Komnene (X, VIII). She tells that it was "quite unknown to the Greeks", a "monster of a cross-bow and verily a devilish invention".¹⁰¹ The trebuchets ("τρι(μ)πουτσέτα" in the Greek version — vv. 1412, 1481, 2920;

100. On the nature of crusading warfare in Syria, see R.C. Smail, *op. cit.*, 39 (see n. 42 above).

101. *Alexiad*, Engl. transl. by E.A.S. Dawes (London, 1928), 255, 256. The passages in Leib's edn.: vol. 2, p. 217 l. 7, p. 218 l. 1-3.

"pierres et mangonneaux" in the French one — paras. 111, 116) were a kind of catapult used in the West in the course of the twelfth century. They were the device on which the knights most of all counted for the assaults against the Moreot strongholds.¹⁰² The author of the *Chronicle* could not fancy the conquest of Monembasia without them, although the site was hardly suitable for their use.

There is one aspect in the behaviour of the crusaders in the Morea, quite significant for the purpose of this study, which is, however, entirely neglected by the sources. It concerns the presence or lack in their policy of any idea of what was the land they conquered. We have already mentioned the possible reminiscences touching the name of "Achaia" and the notion spread about the donjon of Arkadiá. (On its use by the Franks, see below.) As we saw, the little that lettered knights had learned about Greece and Greek history from Latin literature rather made them proud of their own selves. W. Miller was right to assert that in Athens, too, the crusaders did the same violation as in Constantinople — they pillaged the cathedral church (the Parthenon), melted the *res sacrae*, and made a mess of Michael Choniates' library.¹⁰³

Summarizing our observations of the initial phase of the interaction, concerning the Franks, we should notice that the Morea was conquered by all the rules of knightly behaviour. From a psychological point of view the crusaders applied extremely efficient methods. Only one phrase, however, that has slipped due to that same tradition, and the dragging out of the conquest imply that the *Chronicle of Morea* gives the ideal picture. In Champagne William of Champlitte ceded to his cousin Robert "le pays de la Morée que il avoit conquesté *a grant paine*" (para. 140). At his death-bed Geoffrey II delivered to his brother William the

102. On them see: Ch. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (London, 1924), 43 (after Kordoses, *Conquest*, 159).

103. Miller, *Latins*, 34.

Principality — ‘all that our lord and father [Geoffrey I] conquered «μὲ βίαν καὶ μόχθον δυνατόν, τὸ ἐξεύρουσιν οἱ πάντες» (v. 2734). Taken a prisoner of Michael VIII Palaiologos to Constantinople, William II stated he would rather die in prison “que render la tierra que yo he conquistado con mucho trabajo” (para. 286). Probably these words would have sounded even more convincingly in the mouths of the Corinthians and the Monemvasiotes.

One should also point the fact that the basic principles of the conquest were observed by the second-generation rulers of Achaea as well — Geoffrey II (1225/7 - ca. 1246), who was born at the end of the twelfth century and arrived in the Morea with his mother after 1205; and William II (ca. 1246-1274[8?]), born in Kalamata around 1210.¹⁰⁴ This was the instruction that the first Villehardouin stated in his last will addressed to the barons, the prelates and all the knights: always to remember «τὴν πολιτείαν ὅπου εἶχεν» (v. 2456).

3. Quasi Nova Francia?

3.1 The Appropriation of Land. Probably the reader has already noticed that due to the character of the first stage of the contact — acquaintance in the process of military conquest, the next stages were manifested already in the first one. This was most apparent in the appropriation of the land — the settlements (mainly fortified) and the landed estates. While the stages in the interaction are difficult to trace with respect to the conquerors — they got acquainted by assimilating and building the new, and to a considerable part of the upper social layers of the local population, for the villages and the ethnically differentiated groups the first

104. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 36, 41; I. Božilov, op. cit., 181 (see n. 5 on p. above).

stage was very long and often mediated. As we finish with the methods of the conquest, it would be appropriate to quote the following telling example. It was already mentioned above that according to the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, after the conquest of Lakedaimon and the invasion in southeast Laconia, Geoffrey of Villehardouin on oath signed over to the Peloponnesians and their children the preservation of their customs, their faith and their law. Several decades later William II of Villehardouin most probably issued already a chrysobull on the privileges of the Monemvasiotes who had surrendered. The same prince signed the agreements with the disobedient Melingoi («μὲ κρεμαστὲς βοῦλες» (v. 3031). Actually, conforming with the Byzantine tradition, the conquerors themselves imposed restrictions on the acquaintance and hence on the next phases of the process.

Garrisons and use of the fortresses acquired. The adoption of the Peloponnesian fortifications and their further expansion have been treated elaborately enough in specialized literature.¹⁰⁵ According to the Greek version of the *Chronicle* at the time of the conquest the Peloponnese had only twelve fortresses (v. 1403-6 and the previous chapter), but the same version mentions in the course of the narration the number 13 (without Methone which, as already pointed out, was destroyed): Patras, Pontikokastro, Araklovon, Arkadiá, Korone, Kalamata, Lakedaimon, Nikli, Veligosti, Monemvasia, Argos, Nauplion and Akrocorinth. The figure 12 is doubtful — it might have been the result of its continuous presence in the conquest. It is an apostolic number, a basic figure in the French epic, the number of the peers of the Prince. Even if the *Chronicle* quotes only the fortresses which

105. See mainly Bon, *Morée*, 601-77; with a popular aspect: E. Forbes-Boyd, *In Crusader's Greece: A Tour of the Castles of the Morea* (London, 1964); I.T. Sfikopoulos, *Τὰ μεσαιωνικά κάστρα τοῦ Μοριά* (Athens, 1968 repr. 1987).

put up resistance, their number is again more than twelve.¹⁰⁶

The first step towards the subjection of the fortresses, and along with them of their surroundings, was to establish garrisons. The Chronicle mentions garrisons in reference to Patras (here the warriors were left in the lower town, as in the unfortified Andravida), Pontiko, Korone, Akrocorinth. Such a step was particularly indispensable during the first stage of the conquest, until the temporary garrison turned into a permanent element of the Frankish power. The control over the fortresses and the construction of new ones was regulated by the *Assizes of Romania* (nos. 19, 26, 94) as an essential aspect of the feudal relations in the West.

Did the conquerors undertake any measures for the fortification of the acquired *kastra* or of the unfortified settlements? If Geoffrey of Villehardouin did establish his residence in Corinth, as J. Longnon maintained, then it is highly probable that he erected the redoubt and the donjon on the southern top.¹⁰⁷ It is known that around 1209 the baron of Patras (Arnoul Aleman?), when expanding the castle, included in the fortifications the church of St. Theodore where metropolitans took holy orders and were buried. According to A. Bon traces of this activity should be sought for in the southern and the western walls of the inner redoubt.¹⁰⁸ It is difficult to tell when exactly the already mentioned tower of Arkadiá was included in the Frankish fortress.¹⁰⁹ Nor can we date exactly the Frankish 'contribution' to the fortress of Kalamata and to that of Argos.¹¹⁰ It is most probable that the eastern wall of the 'Frankish castle' in Akronauplia was built

106. *Assizes*, no. 43; P. Topping, 'Feudal Institutions...', 121 (see n. 97 on p. above). M.S. Kordoses (*Conquest*, 158) points to the fortresses of Hagionori as well.

107. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 37; Bon, *Morée*, 476, 674.

108. *Ibid.*, 92, 450, 670, 673; H. Saranti-Mendelovici, 'À propos de la ville de Patras...', 213, 227-9.

109. Bon, *Morée*, 670; Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:225.

110. Bon, *Morée*, 667-8, 676.

in the thirteenth century.¹¹¹ Everywhere the intervention of the Franks can be traced by the presence of brick pieces and antique blocks in the walls. There are also fortresses with antique foundations unused by the Byzantines, but reinforced by the crusaders; most often they were situated on isolated heights, but cannot be given an exact dating.¹¹²

New fortresses. The *Assizes of Romania* (no. 94) postulated that fortresses could be built only by the Prince and his barons. Of them all A. Bon gives the first place to the fortified town of Clarentza and the castles of Clairmont and Karytaina.¹¹³

Clarentza (Clarence in the French version of the Chronicle — paras. 85, 110, 146) was a new metropolis created by the Franks, with a relatively numerous population situated at the northern extremity of the most prominent western part of the peninsula, in Elis. Having assessed that further to the south, in the bay of Kyparissia, the coast was not convenient to harbour ships, the crusaders chose for their chief port the most sheltered place on the shore of Elis, used already in antiquity. Though nowadays there are only ruins on the terrain, Bon traced the presence of a strong citadel, which had defended reliably the port below. According to him, the outer wall was erected in the thirteenth century, but because of the lack of stone in the vicinity, it was probably built of sun-dried brick and therefore no traces have remained.¹¹⁴

Between 1220 and 1223, on a spot at an hour's distance south

111. *Ibid.*, 677. The 'castle of the Franks' in contrast to the 'castle of the Greeks' is that part of the fortress which at the surrender of Nauplion was taken by the conquerors.

112. On them, see: Bon, *Morée*, 662.

113. *Ibid.*, 601 ff.

114. *Ibid.*, 321, 322, 602-7. Cf. E. Saradi-Mendelovici, 'Η μεσαιωνική Γλαρύντζα', *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980-1), 61-71. The fortress which the Franks built as a basis near contemporary Kato Akhaia was of the same material. The Aragonese version (paras. 90-1) tells that it was erected over the ruins of the old but destroyed town of 'Acaya'. Cf. *Chronikon*, v. 1398; *Livre*, para. 90.

of Clarentza, Geoffrey I of Villehardouin built the fortress of Clairmont, named by the Greeks Chlomoutsi/Chlemoutsi. The refusal of the church barons to help him continue the conquest forced him, as we have seen, to confiscate their lands. It was with the means thus provided, that he built this fortress designed to defend the whole region. Situated on a plateau more than 200 m high, far from any mountains, it dominated the area, without following a local medieval tradition. According to the profound studies of A. Bon Clairmont represented a homogeneous ensemble, despite its gradual construction. It consisted of two parts: the fortress on the eastern eminence of the plateau and the second fortification to the west, at the foot of which the village was situated. Both as a project and by its history Clairmont stands out as the most remarkable fortification of Frankish Morea throughout its existence. Though no exact parallels can be found in Syria and France, it was a completely Frankish creation despite the hints of archaic forms. Particularly important is the fact that this residence of the Prince was built with the use of local labour.¹¹⁵

The village of Karytaina existed before the coming of the crusaders in the strategic mountain region of Skorta, in the gorge of the river Alpheios. When in the middle of the thirteenth century the baron Geoffrey of Briel built the fortress of the same name, he established, according to the Chronicle of Morea (vv. 3151-6), effective control over the narrow course to the West along the river towards the interior of Skorta. It is not quite clear whether or not the big square tower in the centre is older than the fortress. It is situated on a supporting wall of much bigger blocks (antique ones?). Otherwise the wall of Karytaina follows the natural lines of the relief and its structure is far from complicated. The remains of the residence clearly disclose the western ideas of space, but especially interesting is the protection of the entrance of the for-

115. Bon, *Morée*, 325-6, 608-9; A. Tarsoules, 'Τὸ Χλεμούτσι', *PP* 6 (1962), 303-5.

ress. It reveals that the crusaders maintained close contacts with France where in the 1230s the first machicoulis appeared — one such protected the gateway of Karytaina.¹¹⁶

We shall not treat elaborately the other two groups of Frankish fortresses which A. Bon distinguishes: the significant but badly preserved Kalavryta, Akova, Ayios Vasilios (southwest of Corinth) from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Mistra, Geraki, and Androusa erected several decades later. The attentiveness in the construction of the fortresses we have already examined was not characteristic of those in the second group, although Kalavryta and Akova were also the creation of their lords. The fortress of Kalavryta, known as well under the name of Tremola, dominated above the homonymous Greek village in the mountainous gorge («δρόγγος») to the north of mount Chelmos. Akova, called Matagriffon by the Franks, was probably built on a settlement of the previous age in mountainous Mesarea to the north of Alpheios. Ayios Vasilios towered over the valley of Kleone to the north and was situated on the road from Corinthia to the south.¹¹⁷ These three fortresses, spacious, solid, and crude, connected with the beginning of the frangokratia, differed from the later ones which demonstrated more advanced form and comparatively more attentive construction. Androusa was not a typical mountain fortress but was situated on a terrace above the northern part of the Messenian lowland. The village of the same name had already been in existence when, if we trust the Aragonese version of the Chronicle, by the middle of the century William II erected the fortress. Its towers had versatile design and there was ceramic decoration on the walls.¹¹⁸

116. Bon, *Morée*, 366-7, 629-33. Cf. J. Longnon, 'Les seigneurs de Karytaina et leurs origines champenoises', in *Mélanges Antoine Bon* (Lyon, 1975), 35. The influence might well have come from Syria.

117. *Ibid.*, 633 ff.

118. *Ibid.*, 411-2, 637-8.

Mistra, the fortress which stands today on the top of the hill northwest of Sparte, has preserved its original appearance from the time of William II, who personally chose this spot after the conquest of Monemvasia. The real town developed after the return of the Byzantines. The choice of the Prince, however, was extremely happy — the fortress is almost inaccessible on three sides. It controls the Sparta plain and by type is a mountain fortress of the already well-known concept — an inner fortification with a cluster of dwellings and a lower fortified yard.¹¹⁹

Geraki was built by the baron John of Nivelet on the shortest route from Monemvasia to Lakedaimon, a bit to the east from the Byzantine village of the same name. The fortress was situated on the highest point, but had no inner fortification. The old settlement was moved to the western slope of the hill.¹²⁰

The *Chronicle of Morea* supplies information on some other fortresses, erected during the period in question. Among them are Passavant (built by John of Nully), Beaufort (Leutro[n]), Maïna, La Estella (Astros) — the 'Castle of the Beauty' in Kynouria (built by William II while subjecting Tzakonia). Yet they have either disappeared, or, if preserved to this day, show a later stage of their history.¹²¹

However, the examples treated above reveal clearly enough the following regularities. By settling themselves in the Peloponnesian towns or by constructing new fortresses, the Franks transformed

119. *Ibid.*, 639 ff. I.P. Medvedev (*Mistra*, 22 n. 611) claims that William II transferred his residence to Mistra. New works: W. Freiherr Löhrneisen, *Mistra: Griechenlands Schicksal im Mittelalter (Morea unter Franken, Byzantinern und Osmanen)* (Munich, 1977); St. Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese* (London, 1980); M. Chatzidakis, *Mistras: La cité médiévale et la forteresse* (Athens, 1987).

120. Bon, *Morée*, 510, 642-4.

121. *Ibid.*, 646; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 155 (on Astros).

the initial, often short, contact with the local population into a permanent, relatively broad front of communication in these places. The rest of the peninsula remained outside this front, no matter how mobile the centre of the Principality was (Corinth - Andravida - Clarentza - Mistra?) and despite the fact that the military activities continued almost till the end of the treated period. The nature of the Frankish military settlements shows that the conquerors took under control all key positions on the peninsula. To a great extent this was due to the fact that they used the acquired fortifications, but also it was the result of their marked striving to reproduce that material environment the memory of which they had brought from France. The relief of the peninsula offered them good opportunities in that respect. And if the result, as A. Bon proved, was a too coarse appearance without application of engineering knowledge, the explanation lies in the building material resources of the peninsula and in the small number of the Franks. All fortification devices were built with the help of local labour and using the limestone that lay in the neighbourhood or the stone blocks from the antique ruins, if such were present in the area. The design was guided rather by the configuration of the terrain than by some premeditated concept; it varied from a small fortification with a tower and a yard to a vast composition with a fortified lower yard, an inner fortress and a donjon. The newly built fortresses were creations of the Frankish culture. Here the contact (the term 'interaction' would be far-fetched in this case) reached only the stage of assimilation. But what turned out to be more important, especially in the next period, was the established close co-existence: sometimes after the construction of the Frankish fortress, a settlement sprang up in its vicinity, and in other cases the fortress appeared in the neighbourhood of an already existing settlement. The crusaders did not seek any artistic lay-out in the appearance of the new fortifications, but their building demonstrated the message needed — they had come to stay. It is not by chance that a considerable part of their fortresses have been preserved

to this day, although in ruins or with a transformed appearance.¹²²

3.1. Appropriation of land. To what degree was the conquest equal to a redistribution of landed property? All those lands which by the spring of 1205 were not in the hands of the Peloponnesian archons, ready to co-operate with the conquerors — estates of the fisc, of the great local and court aristocracy, of the Constantinopolitan and of the deserted Moreot monasteries, were confiscated and divided into feudal holdings, then given out to knights and sergeants or included in the domain of the Prince. D. Jacoby even suggests that since there were not enough fiefs for all the crusaders who had participated in the conquest, land was seized even from some of the archons who had subjected themselves to the Franks. In his view what was left to them probably corresponded to the number of their “fidèles”(sic).¹²³ The created system of fiefs of the different baronies shows that the Frankish estates were not a compact mass everywhere. Bon’s topographic studies reveal the baronies of Kalavryta and Chalandritsa as more compact; for Vostitsa he even suggests only one holder. But the barony of Akova, for example, was rather scattered.¹²⁴ Greater compactness was probably characteristic of the domain of the Prince and of some church estates. The landed property of the archbishop of Patras was situated mostly around the town itself.¹²⁵ The domain of the Prince was divided into several castellanies headed by captains who were granted power by the respective baron on whose behalf the fortress was ruled. Its

122. Cf. the findings of Bon, *Morée*, 680-3; V. Panayotopoulos, *Πληθυσμός...* 48-9.

123. This claim appeared first in ‘Archontes’, 442 unbacked by developed argumentation and in contradiction with his own thesis of Byzantine agrarian relations.

124. Bon, *Morée*, 396, 470, 471.

125. *Ibid.*, 423-4.

management was carried out by a castellan, helped by a constable and sergeants.

The status of the fiefs varied. Those which were *de jure conquestas* were the most stable. With the rest the inheritance regime and the terms of holding were determined by the character of the transmission — whether lineal, for life, etc. Inheritance was subjected to the rule of primogeniture, but due to the peculiarities of the conquest and the paucity of the Franks a certain mitigation was allowed.¹²⁶ Mounted service was required from the fiefs of the knights according to their number (see above).

The fiefs consisted of several parts. Those of the barons and their direct vassals included the homages of the subenfeoffed with their respective tracts, the domain, and the feudal property itself. On its territory there stood the castle and the residences of the lord and his retinue, nourished and fostered from the hereditary estates of the seigneur. The domain consisted of lands under the direct administration of the baron/liegeman or of his representatives. The holdings of the dependent peasants, the villeines, were scattered all over the fief. They had limited rights in connection with the *banalité* dues imposed and the privatization of jurisdiction.¹²⁷

Obviously the system of vassal-feudal relations covered all of the large and part of the middle-sized landed property from the Byzantine period as fully reorganized along western feudal principles. The rest of the middle-size property (the patrimonial lands of the archons) did not fit totally into it. (see below)

In the course of the conquest the structure of the Byzantine ruling class underwent radical changes. The greatest Byzantine landowners either left the regions occupied by the crusaders, or perished, or were ruined (?). By co-operating with the conquerors the middle and petty aristocracy was placed in a subject position,

126. Cf. the cases examined by Longnon, *Empire*, 204.

127. *Ibidem*.

and the imperial officials either took off from the scene of practical activity, or left Morea.¹²⁸

Co-operation, however, did not assure the archons' full equality in their contacts with the conquerors. This acquires even greater significance if we take into consideration the fact that the number of Greeks in the Moreot ruling class during the period of the frangokratia was considerable. The Greek archons reduced to the status of the sergeants of non-noble origin landed at the bottom of the feudal hierarchy, as vassals owing only simple homage. They had no vassals of their own, consequently no personal court; they did not participate in the official court gatherings summoned by their seigneurs. Their judicial power spread only over the civil trials of the villeins under their authority. Obviously there was a serious gap between them and the next steps on the hierarchy — till the middle of the century they were not dubbed yet.¹²⁹ It took the conquerors some time, and a serious threat from outside, to arrive at the idea that the Greek archons might be knighted. During this period the integration of the archons into the Frankish ruling class was a process of limited range and had rather a personal character.¹³⁰

At that stage the archons possessed only their patrimonial estates which were to a great extent subjected to the Byzantine law. The principal of primogeniture was not valid for them. At the introduction of the sole new element — the investiture, it was divested of the requirement valid for the Frankish fiefs which postulated a realization term of forty days, or one year at the most, considered

128. Cf. Litavrin, 'Problema', 14-5; Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 29. Cf. Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 45 ff.

129. Cf. *Libro*, para. 137; Jacoby, 'Archontes', 468-9; id., 'Encounter', 887, 888, 891.

130. Ibid., 896; id., 'Archontes', 453, 455-6; id., *Féodalité*, 35; P. Topping, 'Feudal Institutions...', 109, 113; id., 'Co-existence', 7. The law that governed the lands of the archons is systematized in the assizes already mentioned — nos. 71, 138, 178 and 194.

from the moment the question of inheritance emerged. They had no provisional character: the investiture was bound with no obligations. Assize 138, however, reveals a certain antagonism between the law-giver and this special status of the estates of the archons, which from the point of view of western law seemed to the Franks an *allodium*. Such a contradiction looks natural, considering the character of the investiture and the obligations which the archons of Elis and Arcadia accepted — to ensure the military service of the *archontopouloi* according to their lands.¹³¹

The second stage in the integration of the archons into the Frankish feudal society began in the fifties of the thirteenth century — at least that is the time of the first mention in the sources about subinfeudation of their representatives. At the conquest of Monemvasia, together with the honour and the presents William II of Villehardouin granted its archons, he «ἐπρόνοιασέ τους ἀλλὰ δὴ στὰ μέρη τῶν Βατίκων» (v. 2955). Receiving real knight fiefs these archons already climbed up the ladder of the feudal hierarchy and became *hommes liges*. A most clear manifestation of this full integration, or, if we use the terminology of G. Litavrin — this 'synthesis of social institutions' of Franks and Byzantines, is the already mentioned deed of Geoffrey of Briell in 1264. The fiefs of the Greek archons were not extensive and, consequently, neither was the military service they evolved. But the radical change was in the status of inheritance of these properties. Thus the archons were transferred into a close social group whose status could be changed only by a judicial procedure in full dependence on the will of the seigneur.¹³² This shows clearly that the new stage in the interaction itself brought about uncontrollable restrictions and at the same time, by the exact fixing of the legal status of the archons, it became a somewhat burdensome factor.¹³³

131. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 475; *Chronikon*, vv. 1641-8.

132. Jacoby, 'Encounter', 891, 895.

133. Cf. id., 'Archontes', 476: by this the author does not find any serious



The consequences from the integration of the archons into the ruling class of the conquerors exerted substantial influence on Peloponnesian society: it was deprived of leaders (remember the case of Chamaretos), and the Greek church was left without support.¹³⁴ How much the continuation of the archons in the Orthodox faith allowed them to control a sector of social life and to develop a network of relations in the Greek Orthodox community, is to be seen further on in the narration.¹³⁵ In the total merging of social interests the role of the church became important as a criterion for differentiation. The fading of political consciousness as an inseparable part of the Byzantine outlook on life was a serious prerequisite for depoliticization of Orthodoxy in Peloponnesian society. The transition of this network of relations on a lower social level than the official one might have been a counteracting factor in that respect, yet it did not turn into a generator of an independence movement during the period examined. The hindrances were the formation of a closed archons' group by inheritance and the ever present diffusion in the Middle Ages of cultural "patterns", as G. Duby calls them, of the aristocracy among the lower social layers.¹³⁶

One can hardly agree with J. Longnon's opinion that no changes occurred in the position of the Byzantine peasantry. Even the very fact which he cites — when the dues were delivered at the court of the seigneur the dependent peasants had to be present there in person — was a clear enough change by itself.¹³⁷ The

change in the status of the archons.

134. Jacoby, 'Encounter', 891, 895.

135. Cf. P. Gounarides, op. cit., 152.

136. G. Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns...', 3 ff. (see n. 13 above). It should be taken into account that the landed estates of the archons did not form a compact territory (hence the dispersal of most of the Frankish fiefs), and consequently the irradiation of these 'patterns' varied.

137. Longnon, *Empire*, 209. Cf. the general statement of G. Ostrogorsky (*History of the Byzantine State*, 425) that the position of the people virtually remained

dominance of the conquerors, as it was already pointed out, resulted in the preservation of the Byzantine taxes and services and in the appearance of new ones, as for example the *banalité* dues.¹³⁸ The fate of the free Byzantine peasantry remains unknown. D. Jacoby has offered a new reading of the document, on the basis of which earlier E. Gerland, and later J. Longnon, proposed the existence of a free peasant community in the Patras region at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Jacoby's conclusions come close to the hypothesis about its disappearance.¹³⁹ He explains the process with the interference of the Franks in whose eyes Byzantine society looked bipolar — consisting of free (archons) and dependent (villeins) in the sense of limited personal freedom and judicial rights.¹⁴⁰

Particular interest is provoked by the use of the term 'villein' in the *Assizes* to designate the Moreot peasantry. In a study of this term along with the term 'serf' as used in the language of the Latin states in the Levant G. Dmitriev traces down their evolution as compared to that in the West during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. In his view during this period the term 'villein' became very popular in Western Europe with the release of the peasants; it even began to oust the term 'serf'. In many parts of Champagne — in the regions of Rheims, Troyes, Sens, and Vitry, serfdom dominated in the thirteenth and the fourteenth

the same.

138. The evidence of the Aragonese version (para. 134): '& a los todos los otros villanos fieruos dexaron en sus possessiones') in its context should concern the villeins of the Greek archons. Cf. *Chronikon*, v. 1648: «καὶ οἱ χωριάτες τῶν χωριῶν νὰ στέκουν ὡσάν τοὺς ἡῶραν».

139. E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903), 85-7; Longnon, *Empire*, 210; K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 1, 33 (he refers to assizes nos. 23, 149, 152 as giving common evidence about free people). Cf. Jacoby, 'États', 42 n. 234. Yet the passage of the Aragonese version cited in the previous note differs from that following it: '& á todos los otros lauradores confirmaron en los censuales que tenian'.

140. Jacoby, 'États', 35.

centuries. The situation in neighbouring Burgundy was similar. In other regions of Champagne, however, a process of liberation of peasants was under way — mainly transformation of serfs into villeins. That often led to the adaptation of the new term to the anachronisms of older serfdom.¹⁴¹ If in the supposedly unified term 'villein' for the Morea no other meaning was hidden in the translation and during the long tradition of the *Assizes*, the overwhelming correspondence between *paroikoi* and villeins can then be explained by two basic reasons. On the one hand, the disparity between the dependent status and the denomination 'villein'¹⁴² can find an explanation in the contradictory character of the peasantry status — it combined elements of slavery with certain limited rights (obviously a result of the previous epoch). On the other hand, it was due to the already mentioned adaptation of the term from the new period in the development of west-european feudalism to the peasant dependence from the previous period.¹⁴³

What was the real standing of the villein? As for his holding, he differed from the archon only in the investiture (assize no. 194), when inheritance was concerned. But his seigneur had rights on his estate and could handle it any way he wished.¹⁴⁴ This can be seen in the clause about the fate of the villein with outstanding dues (assize no. 215). The essential thing proved to be the willingness or unwillingness of the seigneur to conclude the deal. The villein lost his holding in both cases, but he might be pardoned even if he had no means to pay back his creditor, should the seigneur decide so. If there was, however, an agreement on the

141. G.A. Dmitriev, 'Terminy serv (serf) i vilan (vilain) na latinskom vostoce', *ZRVI* XIII (1971), 129, 131.

142. Cf. assizes nos. 176, 182, 186.

143. G.A. Dmitriev, op. cit., 141.

144. Jacoby, 'Archontes', 435. The regime of the movable and semi-movable goods was somewhat lighter (assize no. 147). Cf. *ibid.*, 455 n. 185; G.A. Dmitriev, 'K voprosu o položenii krest'jan v Latinskoj Grecii', *ZRVI* XIV-XV (1973), 61.

part of the seigneur to conclude the deal, the villein went to jail.¹⁴⁵

A runaway peasant could be sent back to his seigneur but if he managed to live for thirty years on the land of another seigneur, he became a villein of the latter (assize no. 176). Here the influence of the Byzantine law can be traced, but unlike the previous epoch, its sphere of operation was limited to private relations only.¹⁴⁶ The limited rights of the serfs which in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries their equals in Western Europe did not enjoy, included the possibility for them to keep a holding till the death of the grantor and to lease land.¹⁴⁷

Thus two tendencies emerged: preservation of the old Byzantine taxes and services, along with an increase of duties, especially in connection with the development of goods-money exchange.¹⁴⁸ It is clear that at this social level the interaction led to more unfavourable consequences for the Peloponnesian society.

An issue of particular interest is the evidence testifying to mixed marriages between villeins and Franks. How much they envisaged

145. *Id.*, 'Dolgovaja tjurma v latinskoj Moree', *BS* 30/1 (1969), 74-5 where he points out that imprisonment seems to have been a widely spread punitive measure in the Morea.

146. Jacoby, *Féodalité*, 32-8; P.I. Zepos, 'Quelques remarques sur le rapport entre le droit byzantin et le droit des Latins en Orient', in *Festschrift A. Lewald* (1953), 209-19; *id.*, 'Τὸ δίκαιον εἰς τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως', *EEBS* 18 (1948), 202-20.

147. Assizes nos. 178, 184. Cf. G.A. Dmitriev, 'Terminy...', 139.

148. G.A. Dmitriev, 'K voprosu...', 63; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 51, 54, 56. Yet the major change was between the free, though in theory, *paroikos* and the unfree villein (Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 20). Cf. Litavrin, 'Problema', 13: 'It was then that the age of genuine serfdom in Byzantine lands came.' On the status of the serfs in Northern France in the 12th-13th cs., see among others: J.L. Bessmertnyj, *Feodal'naja derevnja i rynek v Zapadnoj Evrope XII-XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1969), 331 n. 3; *id.*, 'Severofrancuzskij servaž (k izučeniju obščego i osobogo v formah feodal'noj zavisimosti krest'jani)', *SV* 33 (1971), 90-115 and esp. 111.

the Morea, is not known, and at that namely for the period in question (assize 138). The comparison with similar acts at ruling class level stands to reason.

Possessed by a feeling of superiority the knights followed a definite 'matrimonial policy'. The break-through was made with the third marriage of William II, that prince "gallo-grec par excellence", that symbol of Frankish Morea, as J. Longnon called him,¹⁴⁹ to the daughter of the Epirote ruler Michael II.¹⁵⁰ Besides the political reasons the ever growing danger of incest had probably also been taken into consideration. The decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) confirmed a ban on marriage within the fourth stock off the common ancestor.¹⁵¹ On the other hand the different law for inheritance and feudal holding, and the general canonical disapproval of mixed marriages between Franks and Greeks continued to be a serious hindrance in following William's example. This brings to the fore the leading role of the small family of the Byzantine epoch which kept the "Mediterranean practices" of dividing the inherited land among all children in the family.¹⁵² According to the study of V. Panayotopoulos, based on documents from the middle of the fourteenth century, the Peloponnesian family had one children or two at the most and the children lived with their parents.¹⁵³

On a lower social level the behaviour of the Franks of simple origin, probably as early as the period under examination, had other dimensions, though we possess no evidence of *Gasmouloi* in the Peloponnese by the middle of the century. If the phenomenon

149. *Empire*, 194; *Les Français d'Outre-Mer...*, 222.

150. *Libro*, para. 235.

151. R.M. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 80. Cf. D.M. Nicol, 'Symbiosis and Integration...', 119-20.

152. A. Kazhdan - G. Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium*, 33, 82.

153. *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί*, 42.

spread, then the road to the naturalization in the Frankish environment became open.¹⁵⁴

3.2 'The vine of Cîteaux Was Planted in Greece'. (Caesar of Heisterbach)¹⁵⁵ Settling in the peninsula the crusaders were almost immediately followed by the Catholic Church. As we have already seen, its representatives were present in the army of Villehardouin and Champlitte. For example, John of Bourbon, Geoffrey's chaplain, was in his retinue from the very start of the campaign, and later, presumably, became chancellor of the Prince.¹⁵⁶ In 1209 the canon Girard of Saint-Loup at Troyes, who received the abbey of St. Saviour of Saphadin near Aetos, east of Arkadiá, was also Villehardouin's companion. In 1216 he was reaffirmed by the Latin Patriarch Gervasius as prior of the abbey.¹⁵⁷

However, most of the prelates, especially those of the episcopal sees, came after the conquerors. The data summarized by G. Fedalto show that the respective archbishopric or bishopric was not constituted immediately after its previous centre was conquered. What was more, due to the insufficient number of Catholics, bishops were not appointed to some of the dioceses; sources do not always reveal an absolute consecution in the sees. The most stable continuity is observed in Patras, Corinth, Olena, Argos, Amyklai (till its unification with Lakedaimon in 1222), Lakedaimon (till the see was moved to Mistra where there were no more residing prelates). Gaps are present in the list of the

154. R.S. Lopez, 'Foreigners in Byzantium', 351-2. On 'matrimonial policy' in general, see: Jacoby 'Encounter', 888; id., 'États', 25; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 55.

155. After B.M. Bolton, 'A Mission to the Orthodox?', 169. (see n. 5 above)

156. J. Longnon (*Compagnons*, 73) supposes that he possibly came from the family of the Bourbon-l'Archambault. After the request of Geoffrey, in 1210 he became archdeacon. Six years later he was still alive. Cf. Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:371.

157. Longnon, *op. cit.*, 68-71.

heads of the Helos (Gilas) diocese, and we have no information about any bishops of Andravida (till 1342), of Christianoupolis (up to 1222 — see Chapter II), Damala and Zemena.¹⁵⁸ In 1210 Othon of la Roche ordered that a Latin priest should be in office in every settlement with at least 12 Latin residents.¹⁵⁹ This information leads us again to the idea that the Franks established their lasting presence in the big Byzantine centres; the case of Andravida could possibly be explained by the fact that the bishop of Olena resided there. Despite the desire of Innocent III to preserve the church organization which existed before in the lands conquered, the demographic weakness of the Latin element became the major cause for the changes of 1222. The Byzantine system had proved to be ineffective.¹⁶⁰

The sources do not enable us to determine with precision what representatives of the Western clergy were appointed to the high ecclesiastical offices in the Morea. Apart from the already mentioned Antelme who called himself “filius et alumnus ecclesie Cluniacensis”,¹⁶¹ the bishop of Olena, William of Pontoise (1258),¹⁶² was also connected with the same abbey. In 1249 the Franciscan William of Faversham was bishop of Lakedaimon.¹⁶³

158. Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:325 f. (on Patras); 2: 97-8 (on Corinth); 2: 182-3 (Olena); 2:44 (Argos — cf. T. Gritsopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, 176-8); 2:37 (Amyklai); 2:136 (Lakedaimon); 2: 128-9 (Helos); 2:39 (Andravida), 2:82 (Christianoupolis); 2:111 (Damala); 2: 127-8 (Zemena — cf. T. Gritsopoulos, *op. cit.*, 352-3).

159. Wolff, ‘Organization’, 40-1.

160. Bon, *Morée*, 91; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:375. Fr. Thiriet (‘Symbiose’, 25) is, however, of the opinion that there was a dense installation of the Catholic Church on the peninsula.

161. L. de Mas Latrie, ‘Donation à l’abbaye de Cluny du monastère de Hiero Komio, près de Patras, en 1210’, in *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* V (1848-9), 312; D.A.Zakythinis, ‘Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀντελμος καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἔτη τῆς λατινικῆς ἐκκλησίας Πατρῶν’, *EEBS* X (1933), 402 n. 4.

162. Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 2:183.

163. *Ibid.*, 136.

It seems that another energetic personality was the bishop of Monemvasia, Odo of Verdun. During his short term in office the relics of the saints Walaric, Vincent and Eulalia, which had been kept in Monemvasia since the time of Leo VI, were returned to Spain. At first the relics lay in a chapel in Damala, having been brought there from the Iberian peninsula at the beginning of the ninth century during one of the Arab attacks; but after 824 the chapel burned and they landed in Monemvasia.¹⁶⁴

Owing to the character of the sources, or to his own character, Antelme stood out as the most active of them all. As early as 1212 he managed to present Guido de Rotti with a piece of St. Andrew’s cross, and the head of St. Eirene was sent to the Cistercian monastery of Haute-combe (in Savoy).¹⁶⁵ Despite the great difficulties in his eparchy, Antelme was obviously among the leading figures in the town, yielding precedence only to the baron Arnoul Aleman. It is difficult to say whether he was the man behind the order of the famous frescoes, depicting the seizure of Troy, which in 1395 Nicholas of Martoni saw in the residence of the archbishop of Patras. Such a subject would have been more appropriate for the rooms of the baron’s residence, where presumably the archbishops moved to after they were granted the estate in 1276.¹⁶⁶ Antelme, together with the archbishop of Corinth and the bishops of Modon, Coron, Amyklai and Argos was among the delegates of the Fourth Lateran Council.¹⁶⁷

While the highest offices of the Moreot Church were more or less effectively in the hands of Latin prelates, so far the sources make us rather believe that in the village eparchies the Greek

164. J.B. Falier-Papadopoulos, ‘Les reliques des SS. Valère, Vincent et Eulalie et le “Castel Damalet”’, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III (Vatican City, 1946), 364-5.

165. Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:340; K.N. Triantaphyllou, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν Πατρῶν* (Patras, 1959), 17.

166. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:215.

167. Bon, *Morée*, 94.

priests remained, even if a certain percentage of refugees is taken into consideration. According to the agreement of 1223 the number of those priests was limited to two for a village consisting of 25 to 70 houses; villages with more than 70 and less than 125 houses were allowed to have 4 priests, and those with more than 125 houses — six; a village with less than 25 houses was attached to a neighbouring one. The rest of the village priests did not change their location.¹⁶⁸ This agreement put an end to the malpractices on the part of the Frankish seigneurs which made Honorius III note that the Greek priests were treated like serfs: they were forced to pay like never before the same taxes as the peasants. From that moment on they were obliged to pay only the *akrostichon* as a land tax.¹⁶⁹

Thus in the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions of the Peloponnese conditions were created for an undisturbed performance of the Orthodox practices in everyday life.¹⁷⁰ The only factor which, owing to the character of its activity, could penetrate into the interior of the Morea was the Cistercians who, in reality, acted in favour of the preservation of the *status quo*. In 1241 the chapter of the order prescribed that the abbots of the monasteries of Zaraca (by the Stympalia lake in Corinthia) and Daphne (near Athens) should warn the Greek monks who wandered without permission, to return to the premises, and in case of refusal to excommunicate them.¹⁷¹ How deserted the Peloponnesian monasteries got, it is difficult to say. If we judge by some post-conquest donations, that had existed before 1205, to foundations of Western orders, the phenomenon probably affected mostly the

168. *Ibid.*, 96; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:337.

169. Bon, *Morée*, 91, 95, 96; Wolff, 'Organization', 42; Thiriet, 'Symbiose', 26; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 76 ff.; Angold, 'Greeks', 81.

170. *Ibid.*, 40; Cheetham, *Greece*, 72-3; J. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church...*, 196.

171. E.A.R. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece', *Traditio* 14 (1958), 114.

monasteries situated in town vicinities. Besides the above mentioned monastery near Aetos, it is known, for example, that in 1210 Antelme donated to the abbey of Cluny the monastery of Our Lady of Gerokomeion situated near Patras. The location obviously caught the eye of the newly arrived monks who according to a marginal note of the thirteenth century were of the opinion that the monastery was to be found "in pulcro loco et ameno positus".¹⁷²

Whether the Greek priests who remained at their places were really subjected to the higher Latin hierarchy, it is hard to say but we again face the conclusion about the absence of significant interaction affecting the indigenous population and the conquerors in the more inaccessible regions of the peninsula. What was the situation in the town centres and Frankish castles like?

Pursuing his aim — a united Church with a final settlement of the problem of the schism, Innocent III laid his hopes on the Cistercians, or, as B. Bolton puts it, he sent them on a "mission to the Orthodox in Romania". Long before the beginning of the thirteenth century, the order had its own crusade tradition, and naturally it played a considerable role in the preparation and realization of the Fourth Crusade. Its members felt a certain hesitation at the attack against Zara, but later they were most numerous present in Constantinople and the Morea. It was the only order whose members could speak convincingly to the Greek priests though no Greek name for it ever appeared, as was the case with the Franciscans later. Simplicity, asceticism, and the holy life — that was the behaviour linking Cîteaux to the monasticism of the East.¹⁷³ The 'model' of the order was based on the principle of striving for the creation of desert, of refusal to live otherwise

172. L. de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, 312. On the Greek monasteries, see J. Hussey, *op. cit.*, 193; Kordoses, *Southern Greece*, 27 n. 8.

173. E.A.R. Brown, *op. cit.*, 64, 73; Panagopoulos, 'Architecture', 275; ead., *Monasteries*, 7; B.M. Bolton, *op. cit.*, 174.

but by withdrawal from the world.

Scholars have long studied the vicissitudes and the reasons which spoiled the realization of the aim set by Pope Innocent III despite the moderation and the tolerance of the methods applied for the purpose.¹⁷⁴ Along with the utopian scheme that the Greek clergy should acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope — which in principle was equal to the realization of the union, the failure was also predetermined by the inability of the Latin clergy to understand that Christian unity could be embodied in something other than “reductio Graecorum”.¹⁷⁵ Yet why did the Cistercians fail in the Morea?

The history of their establishment on the peninsula is chronologically enclosed within the first three decades of the thirteenth century, and their presence in these lands did not last longer, either. Even within the framework of the whole Latin Empire, after 1276 they abandoned almost all their monasteries.¹⁷⁶ The earliest date after which the Cistercians appeared in the Morea is before 1212 — the year when probably a daughter-formation of the already mentioned Haute-combe abbey sprang up in the vicinity of Patras.¹⁷⁷ Before 1214 in Andravida, with the direct assistance of Geoffrey I of Villehardouin, the church of St. James was founded with a hospital at it. In 1241 by the will of Geoffrey II it was delivered to the Teutonic Knights. Here the first three princes of Achaea were buried. Unfortunately there is no trace

174. Wolff, ‘Organization’, 34-5; id., ‘The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans’, in id., *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (VRL, 1976), no. VII, 213-37; A.M. Nada Patrone, *La Quarta Crociata e l’Impero latino di Romania, 1198-1261* (Torino, 1972), 113-27; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:329 f.

175. Bon, *Morée*, 89; J. Meyendorff, ‘The Mediterranean World in the Thirteenth Century, Theology: East and West’, in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 673, 678.

176. Panagopoulos, *loc. cit.*

177. A.M. Nada Patrone, *op. cit.*, 134; E.A.R. Brown, *op. cit.*, 87; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:466.

of it nowadays.¹⁷⁸ There was another Cistercian hospital in Clarentza.¹⁷⁹ After 1225 on the order of Geoffrey I the Cistercians probably settled in Isova on the border of Elis and Skorta. There by their own efforts they erected the church of Our Lady, the ruins of which have remained to this day. The monastery was set on fire in 1263 by the Turkish mercenaries of Michael VIII Palaiologos.¹⁸⁰ Before 1236 the above mentioned monastery of Zaraca was also founded. The last evidence of it is of 1260.¹⁸¹ In Elos H. Kalligas has tried to locate the Cistercian monastery known to us from the registers of Innocent IV as “de Pirn” or “de Pirt”. The Pope allowed Marguerite of Toucy, daughter of Narjot of Toucy, to leave the convent and get married to Leonard of Veroli, chancellor of Morea. This foundation must have been established some time after 1223 — the year when the area was conquered by the Franks, but the exact date is not known.¹⁸² A monastery of Cîteaux might have existed in Achaea, too.¹⁸³

As B. Bolton points out with good reason, all these foundations were situated on or near the coast, which presupposes the absence of inner land communication between them; they were oriented to keep in touch with the mother-abbey by sea. Their toponyms are obviously from the time of the Byzantine Empire. It is not certain whether the Cistercian monks used already existing Orthodox monasteries in these lands (see below), nor would we agree

178. *Ibid.*, 372; E.A.R. Brown, *op. cit.*, 107-8; E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen...*, 19 n. 3; Miller, *Latins*, 91; Bon, *Morée*, 319; N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Φράγκικες ἐκκλησίες στην Ἑλλάδα* (Athens, 1960), 10-1; Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 24, 25.

179. Bon, *Morée*, 453 n. 3.

180. *Ibid.*, 537; A.M. Nada Patrone, *op. cit.*, 135; E.A.R. Brown, *op. cit.*, 93-4; Longnon, *Compagnons*, 36; N.K. Moutsopoulos, *op. cit.*, 25 (he considers it to have been a Benedictine formation); Panagopoulos, ‘Architecture’, 276, 280; *ead.*, *Monasteries*, 42 ff.

181. *Ibid.*, 275; Bon, *Morée*, 554 n. 1.

182. Innocent IV, *Regesta*, ed. by E. Berger, vol. 1 (Paris, 1884), no. 5647 (15 April 1251), after Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 349.

183. E.A.R. Brown, *op. cit.*, 95-6: that was probably St Laurus.

with the author's conclusion that they were forced to abandon their principle of withdrawal into barren lands.¹⁸⁴ The location of Zaraca is in full conformity with this principle: the basin is surrounded with mountains and hardly accessible, water that was so necessary for the Cistercians is at close reach (a big spring at the foot of the hill); and there are no woods, but this is natural for the region.¹⁸⁵

It turns out that the communication with the mother-monastery was not a decisive factor for the location of the Cistercian foundations, since as early as 1217 (a fact that B. Bolton is aware of) their abbots were allowed to visit Cîteaux not every September but every fifth year.¹⁸⁶ The basic reasons for the failure of the order in Greece lay in its own decay during the first half of the thirteenth century and the new direction of papal policy. After 1240 the Cistercians were only rarely used as the Pope's missionaries. The swing towards negotiations for union brought forward the orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans.¹⁸⁷

The emergence of the mendicant orders broke the tradition of the old Benedictine congregation in the West. It was connected with the new directions in the development of Europe during the first half of the thirteenth century promoted by the flowering of urban life. They accomplished within the Church the ideal of poverty and apostolic life by a return to the sources, and keeping a close contact with Rome. Minorites and Dominicans strove to make Christ a living reality in towns, and the greatest merit for that belonged to St. Francis himself, who was called 'the second Christ'. That is why, especially for the Franciscans, missionary work became of exceptional importance; it turned out to be a major task for them to care for the Christians in the Latin states

184. B.M. Bolton, op. cit., 171, 176.

185. Bon, *Morée*, 253-4; Panagopoulos, 'Architecture', 276; J. Evans, *Art in Medieval France, 987-1498* (London etc., 1948), 64, 67.

186. B.M. Bolton, op. cit., 178.

187. Ibidem.

of the Levant, too. Being a kind of intellectual elite, they knew many languages and worked for the cause of the 'unified Christian Church'.¹⁸⁸

Around 1260 "Romania" as a province of the Franciscan order was organized in three *custodiae* — Negropont, Thebes and Clarentza. The church of St. Francis in the capital of Achaea belonged to them. The Franciscan foundations in Corinth, Patras, Nauplion probably were also created during the period under examination. In Andravida the order possessed the church of St. Stephen built by William II of Villehardouin, according to the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea* (para. 346).¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, not even ruins of any of the Franciscan churches in the Morea have been preserved to this day.

The Dominican province "Graecia" was established in 1228. We have evidence that the order had foundations in Andravida and Clarentza (before 1303). The remains of a Frankish church, mentioned in the *Chronicle*, according to most scholars, belonged to the cathedral church of the order and the bishop of Olena.¹⁹⁰

The Minorites and the Dominicans who came in Morea brought some changes to the ethnic pattern of the Frankish colony. They were mostly Italians and Frenchmen, but, as we have already pointed out, in Lakedaimon there resided even an Englishman. How much they stimulated the intellectual life, it is difficult to say, for lack of sources on the period of question. We can only make guesses about the intellectual activity of the Dominicans, who were especially fond of philosophy.

Can the silence of the written sources be made up for the data from church architecture to elucidate the problem of the interaction

188. G. Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns...', 4; id. - R. Mandrou, *Histoire de la civilisation française*, 157; J. Evans, op. cit., 136-7; Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:125.

189. Bon, *Morée*, 319; TIB 1 (Koder), 89; Fedalto, *Chiesa*, 1:372, 468.

190. Ibid.; Miller, *Latins*, 91; TIB 1 (Koder), 88; N.K. Moutsopoulos, op. cit., 3.

between the Franks and the Moreots? It has been proved that in this sphere, too, the conquerors tried to reproduce the reality of the places they came from. Among the monuments totally inspired by Western church architecture were Our Lady of Isova, the church of the abbey of Zaraca, St. Sophia in Andravida, and a church in Clarentza. A. Bon adds to them also the church of the Blachernai monastery in Elis though part of it was made by Byzantine builders.¹⁹¹

A distinctive feature of this type of monuments (excluding the last one) was the total absence of Byzantine influence and the extraordinary simplicity of their appearance — where, of course, the building concepts of Cistercians and Dominicans can be discovered. Our Lady of Isova, the ruins of which are called by the local people 'The Palaces', was built of sand limestone and covered with an one-piece wooden raft. The structure betrays the hand of a western master. In the construction of St. Sophia, however, local labour was used, as well as antique material and Byzantine brick.¹⁹² Antique blocks from the site of neighbouring Stymphalia were made secondary use of in the construction of the church of Zaraca, too. Here is the only presence of the nervure arch, but the style betrays almost obsolete traditions from the transition of the Roman to the Gothic pattern. In the opinion of B. Kitsiki-Panagopoulos, however, this following of the traditional approach, typical of the Cistercian monastery in Clairvaux, had its exact parallels in France after 1225.¹⁹³ The church in Clarentza was built in the second half of the thirteenth century and was situated on the inner side of the eastern wall of the fortress.

191. Bon, *Morée*, 536. Cf. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 79 ff. Cf. C.D. Sheppard, 'The Frankish Cathedral of Andravida, Elis, Greece', *Society of Architectural Historians* XLIV (1985), 205-20; id., 'Excavations at the Cathedral of Haghia Sophia, Andravida, Greece', *Glota* XXV/1 (1986), 139-44.

192. *Ibid.*, 538, 542, 544, 552.

193. Panagopoulos, 'Architecture', 276, 278, ead., *Monasteries*, 52. Cf. Bon, *Morée*, 558-9.

It once more betrays the use of Greek labourers and of antique blocks.¹⁹⁴

A broader look at the Mediterranean church architecture allows B. Panagopoulos to oppose A. Bon, who maintained that it is not possible to determine precisely the sources of architectural concepts, applied in the churches in question. In her view, although they did not belong to any "significant international architecture trend", these concepts originated in Burgundy and Southern France.¹⁹⁵

The church of the Blachernai monastery, situated east of Clarentza, deserves particular attention. This is a three-nave basilica, consisting of three sections built at different times: the church ensemble and part of the narthex are from the end of the twelfth or the very beginning of the thirteenth century; on the first floor there are added elements in Western style, and the western façade from an inscription is dated 1771. The consoles of the cornice give away the hand of the western master, and the one under no. 7 poses a serious problem: an eastern motif is depicted above it — a lion standing on his left fore paw, his right one raised and his head turned back. A. Bon justifiably points out that here one should not necessarily look for the inspiration from local Moreot patterns, because this motif was popular in the whole Mediterranean region. The covering of the church also reveals a deposit of different ideas — it is unexpected for a basilica, heavy and obviously not very skillfully carried out. All these facts made Bon propose an interesting hypothesis: the church was under construction at the beginning of the century but the monastery passed into the hands of Catholic clergymen, under the guidance of whom the building was completed.¹⁹⁶

194. *Ibid.*, 559-61.

195. *Ibid.*, 574-6; Panagopoulos, 'Architecture', 273-4; ead., *Monasteries*, 149, 154-5.

196. Bon, *Morée*, 561 f.; id., 'Monuments d'art byzantin et d'art occidental

Even more interesting is the problem raised by the churches with an overall Byzantine character, but due to reconstruction or influence containing western elements, too — e.g. the pointed arch ('Panagia Katholike' south of Gastoune in Elis, St. George in the fortress of Geraki, 'Pandanasia' by Geroumana south of Monemvasia), the spread of elongated silhouettes of basilican type (again the church of St. George). Even if some similar western borrowings, like the angular columns, appeared in the Peloponnese before 1205, in Corinthia for example, it was not until the first half of the thirteenth century that they gained a wide popularity. An eloquent testimony to this is the church at Merbaka in Argolis. This way or other, the monuments treated do not point to the existence of a rich tradition, at least during the period we are interested in.¹⁹⁷

More attention should be devoted to the churches of Geraki, because they represent if not a real interpretation in the process of intercourse, at least forms of appropriation. As was pointed out, the barony of the same name existed from the second half of the twelfth as late as 1275 and was in the hands of the Nivelet family. The church 'St. George' in the fortress, as well as 'St. Nicholas' was built at the time of the Franks. They had two naves — a construction unusual for Greece, which was corrected by erecting a third nave immediately after the Byzantine rule was restored there. A. Bon accepts the hypothesis of A. Orlandos that the double-nave structure points to a simultaneous performance of Catholic and Orthodox liturgies in the same church.¹⁹⁸ It is known that the Fourth Lateran Council allowed in some cases even the use of Greek for the mass.¹⁹⁹ Probably that was

dans le Péloponnèse au XIIIe s.', in *Χαριστήριον εις 'Α. 'Ορλάνδον*, vol. 3 (Athens, 1966), 87 ff. Cf. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 77 ff.

197. *Ibid.*, 91, 92-3; id., *Morée*, 580-1, 586, 588, 598-9.

198. *Ibid.*, 595-6 (if, of course, we utterly exclude the possibility that this was not a Dominican church; cf. J. Evans, *op. cit.*, 143).

199. On the possibility that the local population in the Latin states might have

one of the paths for the emergence of some modifications in the Orthodox cult as for example the Latin unction in consecration or the unique right of the bishop to administer confirmation.²⁰⁰ An issue of particular interest is the bay built for the Franks in the southern nave of 'St. George', against the northern wall. The decoration in the upper part of the arch and the triangular pediment are filled among other things with a crescent, surrounded with six stars and a lily flower, around which there are four little roses. In the upper section of the pediment there is a coat of arms, divided into squares like the one at the gate. Everything is finely made of marble. Obviously it is the work of a sculptor of local origin, who knew well the Byzantine traditions and had worked on Frankish orders. The lily flower has parallels in Provence, but there is a simplified picture of it on a fragment of the cornice in the northern apse of the church of Blachernai in Elis. The simple stone-cutters who made the exterior sculpture decoration had also worked under the guidance of the seigneur.²⁰¹

No less interesting is church no. 4 west of the fortress. In the interior, against the western wall, a fresco in a poor condition has been preserved, depicting Jehovah attacking a town of the Amoreans (sic): he is on the left, on a horse, dressed in white and carrying a shield with a crescent surrounded by four stars, throwing his spear together with four other warriors. On the right is the enemy trying to hide behind the city gates. The message of the picture seems more than convincing.²⁰²

These examples could be very misleading for our final conclusions, particularly if we take into consideration C. Mango's obser-

had to use a Greek translation of the mass, see J. Meyendorff, *op. cit.*, 678.

200. Thiriet, 'Symbiose', 22; J.M. Hussey, *op. cit.*, 195. Cf. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries*, 151-2.

201. Bon, *Morée*, 593, 594, 596-7, 598.

202. *Ibid.*, 594-5. Jehovah and his suite are represented as knights.

vation that generally the influences in an art affect its secular manifestations.²⁰³ In this light the significance of the relief found in a home in Parori south of Mistra becomes even greater. The possibilities that this companion of William II of Villehardouin was depicted by a Frank or by a Greek who did not know the subject matter, are equally probable.²⁰⁴

It turns out, however, that it was during the period in question that churches were erected in the Morea with frescoes, which did not contradict at all the Byzantine tradition. Such is the famous 'St. Trinity' church in Kranidion at about 15 km away from Damala. By its inscription it is dated to 1244, and its founder was Manuel Mourmouras — one of those archons in the region which we have mentioned in connection with the conquest of Argolis. By now this is the most imposing church of the σταυρεπίστεγος type of the thirteenth century and was painted by John of Athens.²⁰⁵ At the time of its creation the Franksih presence in the region was still slight and the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of Morea* registers (para. 125) the existence of an anonymous seigneur of Damala holding 6 fiefs who built the castle of the same name. It is possible that Mourmouras was an ally of the Franks but he remained true to his faith like Gabriel Larynx.²⁰⁶

203. C. Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 280.

204. Bon, *Morée*, 592. The hypothesis of A. Xyngopoulos ('Τὸ Ἀνάγλυφον τοῦ Παρορίου', *P* 7 [1979], 127-8) that here a participant in the fights of the Hippodrome is presented, does not seem probable although Parori is mentioned in the sources as early as the tenth and the eleventh centuries.

205. A. Bon, 'Monuments...', 84 n. 1; id., *Morée*, 598; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'L'évolution du programme décoratif des églises de 1071 à 1261', in *Actes du XVe CIEB*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1979), 323; Kalopissi-Verti, *S. Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis: 1244* (Munich 1975), 7, 10, 32.

206. Bon, *Morée*, 115, 487-8. According to him (p. 110) this was William of la Roche. Cf. J. Longnon, 'Les premiers ducs d'Athènes et leur famille', *JS* no. 1 (1973) [inaccessible]. The same version tells (para. 133) that in the land of Corinth

The above exposition confirmed Bon's conclusion that we have no testimony of any explicit accidents in the Principality involving Greeks and Latins before 1260, even with respect to religion.²⁰⁷ What was more, although an opposition is observed between Western and traditional Byzantine forms rather than a creation of a new artistic school, art and the religious rites related to it did not turn out to be a closed information system for the two sides participating in the interaction. And if the stage of real synthesis again eluded them, the reasons are obviously comprehensive. Leading the narration to their elucidation, we should note in advance, that toponyms like Φραγκόκλησι were not rare in the Morea, and this means that the element of separation, and impressing had a lasting presence. Besides, the Greek version of the *Chronicle* has preserved the memory from the epoch of the conquest that the Greeks then called the Franks 'dogs'. Probably that was not at all accidental.²⁰⁸

3.3 "Les Panejourns". Besides the necessities of cult, everyday life is impossible without activities to make a living. It was in the social and economic sphere where the contacts between the Franks and the Greeks were permanent and wide indeed. There the intercourse was a vital necessity. As one may expect the Peloponnesians were attracted even more energetically into the town, and into the ordinary Franksih strongholds, too. It should be noted, however, that the urban character of the Frankish 'colonization' had among other things also a psychological basis — the conquerors were a population-minimum and sought a max-

and Argolis three fiefs were delivered to the family of the Foucherolles (they were related to the de la Roche).

207. Bon, *Morée*, 89 n. 2; Thiriet, 'Symbiose', 26; Angold, 'Greeks', 80.

208. *Chronikon*, vv. 760-1 is followed by the most malicious diatribe against the Romans. On the period of the conquest cf. M. Dendias, 'Sur les rapports...', 372.

imum density, protected behind the fortress walls.²⁰⁹ Even the court of the Prince, despite the attractions of Elis, where there were several Princely residences, moved either to Corinth, or to Andravida, or to Lakedaimon-Mistra.

We saw that, having settled in the towns, the Franks acquired different estates. Some Ἀπῆς for example (apparently Henri), possessed several houses in Monemvasia. According to H. Kalligas he was probably the commander of the town garrison.²¹⁰ As Marino Sanudo informs us, after the fall of Corinth Othon of la Roche was granted an income of 400 hyperpers from the turnover tax and the sale of goods in the town (the so called *kommerkion*).²¹¹

The situation was most profitable for the Peloponnesian towns on the western coast of the peninsula, among which, as already said, there were new foundations.²¹² With the exception of two spheres — the wholesale trade (a monopoly of the Latin elite) and the administration — the Moreots took advantage of the flow of immigrants and capital, and the traffic of commercial vessels. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were mostly in their hands and they were directly linked with the market.²¹³

Wine-producing and silk-worm breeding were also given a great impetus. In 1214 the wine of Monemvasia, developing this industry independently of the Venetian trade, was being offered and highly esteemed at imperial feasts in Constantinople.²¹⁴ The samite, a thick silk cloth which was used in the West for church decorations

209. Litavrin, 'Problema', 6. Cf. Jacoby, 'États', 18-9, 45.

210. Kalligas, *Monemvasia*, 180.

211. *Istoria del regno*, p. 100; Jacoby, 'Byzantium', 14.

212. V. Hrochová, 'Le commerce vénitien...', 30-1.

213. Jacoby, 'États', 47.

214. Nicholas Mesarites, 'Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politische und kirchliche Ereignisse des Jahres 1214', ed. A. Heisenberg in *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion* (Leipzig, 1923; VRL, 1973), no. II.III: 21 ll. 18-21.

and for the needs of luxury, was a gift that every representative of the high secular and church aristocracy desired. The already mentioned officer of the monastery of St. Loup promised to be sending his abbot *un samit* in the following two years.²¹⁵ Antelme expressed his desire that the monastery of Gerokomion should send him *exsamitum optium* for the abbot of Cluny every year.²¹⁶

Particularly active in the field of commerce were Patras and the towns of Elis. We have evidence that Patras, and probably Corinthia, too, were visited by English merchants. Despite the lack of good natural harbour Patras remained in the traditions of the Monemvasiote merchants as φράγκα σκάλα.²¹⁷ Evidence from the French version of the Chronicle throws light on the home trade of the peninsula: in the middle of June on the lawn in front of Vervaina in Arkadia there continued to take place the "panejours", i.e. the old Byzantine fairs.²¹⁸

Considering the existing information one should not go to extremes the way some scholars do, postulating either unlimited economic boom, or a standstill in the old craft and trade centres.²¹⁹ The big problem which remains open is the status of the

215. Longnon, *Compagnons*, 71 n. 580.

216. L. de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, 309 f.; Bon, *Morée*, 312. At the same time there exists evidence for an Italian importation of tissues in the Morea: F. Thiriet (ed.), *Délibérations des Assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie*, vol. I, 1160-1363 (Paris, 1966), no. V, p. 26 (together with two 'French horses' and iron — for February 1224).

217. E. Gerland, *op. cit.*, 89; K.N. Triantaphyllou, *op. cit.*, 345. Contra: H. Saranti-Mendelovici, 'À propos de la ville de Patras...', 226, 231.

218. *Livre*, para. 802; cf. J. Longnon, *Les Français...*, 239.

219. *Ibid.*, 238. Cf. Litavrin, 'Problema', 14, 4. The latter states as well that the activity of town corporations faded away. However, the question about the existence of the latter after the 11th c. is still under discussion. Cf. E. Frančes, 'Isčeznovenii korporacij v Vizantii', *VV* 30 (1969), 38 ff. On the economic orientation of Frankish policy, see: G.L. Huxley, 'Transhumance on Taygetos...' (see n. 28 on p. above); 2: the building of Mistra, Maïna and Beaufort had

Greek population in the towns. In the heated discussion which concerned mostly Crete D. Jacoby offered the hypothesis that by the middle of the fourteenth century free Greeks were hardly ever mentioned apart from the archons because probably the citizens had the status of villeins. Thus, in his view, despite the fact that economic activity was promoted, there was also a certain deterioration in the situation of the Greek population.²²⁰

This broadest communication front, the social and economic sphere, was closely connected with the monetary system of the Principality. The crusaders substituted the Byzantine monetary system, designating the value in gold, silver and bronze, with a system based on the silver penny. Thus the constituent parts of the 'vertical exchange' were ousted from the small monetary turnover, which points to a tendency towards a further penetration of money into the economy.²²¹

At the beginning the silver *deniers tournois* were brought from France but even before the middle of the century coinage was started in Corinth. The legend of the obverse from right to left is followed by "G P" or "Princeps Accaie"; on the reverse — "Corintum" or "Corinti" and most often the image of

economic aims, too, because William II intended to impose taxes on the Melngoi for their transhumant movements.

220. Jacoby, 'États', 35, 41, 48; id., 'Une classe fiscale en Roumanie latine...', 146-8. Contra: S. Borsari, *Studi sulle colonie veneziane in Romania nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1966), 122 (he views the Greek citizens as being free as a whole). Concerning τὸ κοινὸν and ἅπαντον, see Ferluga, 'Aristocratie', 82, 83; id., 'Plemstvo', 122, 123 (in his view the two terms denominated the privileged (?) layer of town population and the lower stratum respectively).

221. J.-B. Da Silva, 'Au coeur de l'économie marchande: Les monnaies et autres moyens de paiement et de crédit', in *Économies méditerranéennes. Équilibres et intercommunications, XIIIe-XIXe ss.*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1985), 255; A.M. Stahl, 'Venetian Coinage in Medieval Greece', in *ibid.*, 366. The latter's 'European Coinage in Greece after the Fourth Crusade', *MHR* 4/2 (1989), 356-63 became accessible to me when this book was already in press.

Akrocorinth.²²² Most likely the mint was situated in the town, and not in the fortress. Of course, by this initial only, it is difficult to determine which of the two Villehardouins it stood for.²²³

Besides this mint, Morea established another one of its own *deniers tournois* on the French model. According to Marino Sanudo, in 1249 in Cyprus William II was authorized by Louis IX to mint such coins.²²⁴ Those of them known to us, however, in D. Metcalf's view, can be dated no earlier than the seventies of the thirteenth century. This is the type with the title of the Prince, a picture of the church 'St. Martin' in Tours, and a legend "De Clarentia."²²⁵

The Byzantine golden *hyperpera* minted both in the Empire of Nicaea and in Latin Constantinople continued to circulate in the Balkans, serving as a basis for calculating the values of the monetary system in all of Latin Greece. Here the English sterling also appeared — as the equivalent of four *deniers tournois* (each

222. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (repr. edn.: Graz, 1954), 312 ff. On coins of Philip II Augustus and of Louis VIII (IX?), see: J.E. Fisher, 'Corinth, 1972: Forum Area', *Hesperia* 42/1 (1973), p. 44, nos. 126, 127.

223. Bon, *Morée*, 475. Cf. J.E. Fisher, op. cit., no. 123 (a coin of William II from before 1250 with a cross on the obverse).

224. *Istoria del regno di Romania*, p. 102; cf. *Livre*, para. 185.

225. D.M. Metcalf, 'The Currency of Deniers Tournois in Frankish Greece', *ABSA* 55 (1960), 59. For the old view, see: G. Schlumberger, *loc cit.* Metcalf points out (*Coinage in the Balkans...*, 225, tabl. 19) that the Achaean *tournois* found at Corinth in the period 1896-1929 had been minted from 1278 till 1307. However, A. Dzamales (*Tà νομίσματα τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας*, 1184-1566 [Athens, 1981], 70) claims that the 'traditional division' of Frankish coins into those which were minted before 1250 and those after that, 'has no validity' although he accepts that the first *tournois* were minted in Clarentza in the late sixties. But recent excavations at Corinth (after the book of Dzamales was published) reveal that such a division is still maintained despite the fact that the basic difference concerns the introductory issues as a whole (as 'petty currency' based on a copper mint: continuity of the Byzantine tradition?) and the real *deniers tournois* minted later at Clarentza. Cf. the appendices of D.H. Zervos in *Hesperia* 53/1 (1984), 109; 53/2 (1984), 250; 56/1 (1987), 44; 57/2 (1988), 142-3; 58/1 (1989), 50 (on nos. 90-1).

of them considered a valid coin with about 20% silver covering)²²⁶

During the thirties and forties of the thirteenth century Latin Greece was also invaded by more considerable quantities of the Venetian *grossi* — big silver coins from the end of the twelfth century. Three *grossi* were equal to one *denier tournois*.²²⁷ The Venetians — old acquaintances of the Greeks in these territories, this time developed their activities at full range. The data considered confirm the conclusion that in the first half of the thirteenth century the Morea was in the midstream of Mediterranean trade and that this undoubtedly affected the economic “symbiosis” (here the use of this term is fully justified) between the Franks and the Moreots.

known?
Beleg?
3.4 ‘The French language of Paris’. ‘It is said that the most noble chivalry of the world is that of the Morea, and they speak as beautiful French as in Paris’.²²⁸ In the above reviewed spheres and phases of the interaction the role of the language information system was comparatively limited for the treated period. Hardly any of the French knights knew at least a little Greek; the reverse is also out of the question. It is known that due to the pilgrimage small pocket dictionaries of about thirty words (Greek-Latin and Greek-Italian) were sold in the West to ensure the journey of

226. A. Stahl, op. cit., 365, 367; D.M. Metcalf, ‘The Currency...’, 54 (on a treasure of the mid-thirteenth century found at Corinth and including English pennies).

227. Id., *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe, 820-1396* (London, 1979), 219. Cf. Jacoby, ‘Byzantium’, 32 and n. 121.

228. Ramon Muntaner, *Chronicle*, CCLXI (Engl. transl. by Lady Goodenough, vol. 2 [London, 1921], 627). Cf. the German transl. by Dr. K.Fr.W. Lanz, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1842), 231. The Barcelona edition became accessible to me when this book was already in press. Cf. vol. VII [1951], p. 42: for Paris stands Acre. D. Jacoby, ‘Knightly Values...’, 181 n. 25.

the pilgrims through Byzantium.²²⁹ If we trust the evidence of the *Chronicle of Morea*, however, we have to assume that the crusaders received information from the natives either through interpreters, or through those Greeks in the army of Boniface who somehow had already managed to work out a common language with their new masters.

Yet we have at our disposal certain testimonies dated comparatively precisely in the period considered which could allow us to catch something of the language background of Frankish Morea. And it is no secret that the Middle Ages, and particularly the town in its advanced stage, unlocked its culture for the ear, not for the eye.

Toponymy. The static language data from Frankish Morea have long been systematized and processed despite the still existing discussion over the origin of some of them. What is the language face of the contact which they reveal to us?

It is generally accepted that in most cases the Franks preserved the names of the areas where they settled, by adapting them to the use in French — by changes in the stress, aphaeresis, prothesis, paronymy. They even abandoned, with few exceptions, their own patronyms and accepted Greek ones in their adapted versions.

The first category of toponyms, which J. Longnon considers to have been a small one,²³⁰ is that of names translated from Greek and adapted for French pronunciation. Especially interesting are those which betray etymological interference. The inclusion of “ville” in the name of Andravida (Andreville) was probably due to the significance that the town acquired in the Principality. At the same time, however, in the West “ville” had a double meaning: preserving its old relation with *villa*, it was also used together with “cité” to designate the same category of settlements. It is highly probable that the form “Amorea”

229. Van der Vin, *Travellers*, 1:177.

230. ‘Les noms de lieu de la Grèce franque’, *JS* (July-Sept. 1960), 98 ff.

was coined in connection with the Biblical plot of 'Amorrheans' depicted, as we saw, even in one of the churches of Geraki.²³¹ The element of opposition is also present in the form "Malvesie", given to Monemvasia, probably through the mediation of the Italian "Malvasia" (which in Venetian dialect had the meaning of a 'wine-shop').²³² The 'bad neighbour', however, is also present in the other name of Mont Escovée (Penteskouphi) — Malvesino.²³³

In the purely French names newly created during the age of the conquest —, of fortresses, fiefs, towns or ports, certain regularities, are found. Part of them reflect the geographical peculiarities of the place: Clairmont, Mont Escovée ('bare mount' — frequently met in Northern France), Clarence, Port-de-Junch (because of the marshy areas in the region).²³⁴ Often they indicate location Beauregard, Beauvoir (rather widely spread in the West in the beginning of the thirteenth century and also known on Crete);²³⁵ or the role assigned to the respective stronghold: Passavant, Matagriffon (one cannot help recalling the fortresses of Richard the Lion Heart in Messina).²³⁶ The basis of the new name could be the patronym of the respective seigneur — Tremolay/Dramelay (the fortress was situated east of Kalavryta but was related to the baron of Chalandritsa in Achaëa), or, according to some suppositions, of the local Greek lord: Bucelet - Araklovon - Oreoklovon in connection with Boutsaras(?)²³⁷. Sometimes, as

231. *Ibid.*, 100 n.3. Cf. O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands...*, 20; G. Manduech, 'La "bonne" ville: origine et sens de l'expression', *AESC* 27/6 (1972), 1441-8.

232. J. Longnon, *op. cit.*, 105; Miller, *Essays*, 240 n. 4; O. Markl, *op. cit.*, 43.

233. *Ibid.*, 50; Kordoses, *Conquest*, 83.

234. J. Longnon, *op. cit.*, 106; Bon, *Morée*, 300, 415, 477; W.A. McDonald, 'Sfagia-Sphakteria', *P* 3-4 (1958-9), 59; O. Markl, *op. cit.*, 28, 52.

235. *Ibid.*, 23; J. Longnon, *loc. cit.*; Bon, *Morée*, 333-5.

236. O. Markl, *op. cit.*, 44, 50; Miller, *Essays*, 71-2; A. Bon, (*Morée*, 508-9) thinks that 'passavant' was a war-cry or possibly a toponym in France as well.

237. *Ibid.*, 369-70, 460; O. Markl, *op. cit.*, 23, 24, 62; Longnon, *Compagnons*,

we saw, the name might reflect the specificity of the town privileges: in Monemvasia, for example, the λαλούδι were remembered as inhabitants of the *kastro*, καστρηνοί.

Particularly significant is the fact that some of these new names had parallel original or interpretative names in Greek: Akova for Matagriffon, Pontiko for Beauvoir, Leutron for Beaufort, Chle-moutsi/Chlomoutsi for Clairmont (this toponym may be of Slavonic origin), Avarinos/Navarino for Port-de-Junch.²³⁸ Others names, however, like Clarence/Clarentza, Passavant, Beauregard, spread in the Greek language environment, too, with respective corrections: Glarentza, Passava, Perigardi, Penteskouphi, Tremola. No regularities can be found in these correspondences.

Another group of toponyms are closely connected with the problem examined but, unfortunately, they cannot be traced chronologically with enough precision. These are the toponyms containing as a constituent part Φράγκα-/Φράγγα-.. It is known that the names of the two fortresses in Nauplion as 'that of the Franks' and 'that of the Greeks' (according to the terms of the surrender of the town) were preserved till the seventeenth century.²³⁹ In Achaëa even today two neighbouring small villages are still called Franga and Greka. Particularly interesting are the toponyms combining this element with a second one with the meaning of 'church' or 'spring' (in memory of Cistercian presence?) — Frangoklisi (in Laconia, at Alvena), Frangovrisi (in Skorta and Messenia).²⁴⁰

222; P. Paparrigopoulos, 'Τοπωνυμικά τῶν Καλαβρύτων', *PP* 7 (1963), 337.

238. J. Longnon, 'Les noms...', 106; Bon, *Morée*, 326, 328; J. Zaimov, 'Danni ha bulgarskite geografski imena ot Južna Gurcija za bulgarskija ezik ot VI do IX vek', *Bulgarski ezik* 33/2 (1983), 112. The question of the relation of Charpigny to Τσερπινῆ is more complex. Most scholars believe that the toponym in its Greek form is of Slavonic origin and therefore has passed into French, or that it is a French one, although there is evidence that it was present only in Savoy. Cf. Bon, *op. cit.*, 336, 396, 464, 466; J. Longnon, *op. cit.*, 104.

239. Miller, *Latins*, 62.

240. D.J. Georgacas - W.A. McDonald, *Place Names of South-West*

Here it is suitable to recall the fact that the remains of the Frankish church at Isova were designated as Φραγκικό παλάτι/Τά Παλάτια, and that in Elis, southeast of Amaliada, the toponym "Frangavilla" is preserved which in Bon's view is related to a Frankish church as well.²⁴¹

It is even harder to pin down chronologically those French borrowings in the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea* which are often taken as decisive in determining the question of its origin. We can only presume that during the period of the conquest several words of undoubted French origin entered the Moreot idiom: 1. Most often as transliterated — γαρνιζοῦν, καστελλάνος (and derivatives), κουγκέστα, μισίρ, μπαρουνία,²⁴² ὁμάντζο, σιργέντης, τριμπουτσέτο, τρέβα, φίε; 2. As calques — ἀνθρωπεά, συνήθεια, ἀφροντισία.²⁴³ Any further enumeration would be risky, however, if we bear in mind that in this list we rely mainly on historical logic, not on concrete source material of the period treated. The basic problem with French lexis (and with the foreign lexis in general) is, according to M. Jeffreys, the lack of a reliable criterion as to what part of it, mentioned in the Greek version, was widely spread. Without such a criterion this lexis cannot be a solid argument with a decisive significance for the existence

Peloponnesus..., nos. 8285-6, 8288, 8290; Bon, *Morée*, 375, 514. There is an interesting place name preserved until nowadays in the neighbourhood of Hagionori — στοῦ Φραντζῆ — where a spring is to be found. Κ.Ε. Ικονομος ('Συμβολὴ στὸ τοπωνυμικὸ Κορινθίας. Τὰ τοπωνύμια τοῦ 'Αγιονορίου', *Ἱστορικογεωγραφικά* 2 [1988], 286), asserts that the name has originated from the personal name Frandzes/Francesco. M.S. Kordoses in turn pays attention to the local tradition which has linked that spring with an unspecified despot of Mistra ('Πελοποννησιακοὶ Θρύλοι...', 105-6). Cf. id., in *Ἱστορικογεωγραφικά* 2 (1980), 293.

241. *Morée*, 359-60; O. Markl, *op. cit.*, 32.

242. M.A. Triandafyllidis (*Die Lehnwörter der mitteligriechische Vulgarliteratur* [Strasburg, 1909], 18) asserts that the loaning has passed first through Italian.

243. *Ibid.*, 142-4. Cf. the list of the French words in the Greek version made by H. Lurier in his English translation, p. 50.

of an eventual French prototype from which the Greek version had been translated.²⁴⁴

The above review proves clearly that by the middle of the thirteenth century, despite the change of two generations, the language contacts between the Franks and the local population were limited and the knowledge of William II of Villehardouin was rather a vivid impression for his contemporaries than a sign of a serious breakthrough in language communication. During the short span of these few decades the Moreot idiom was penetrated by some toponyms connected with the military presence of the Franks, with hardly any exact transliteration or etymology, not to speak of a consolidation of a Frankish toponym at the expense of a retreating Greek one. The conquerors seemed more inclined to change: they found the exact word to designate the geographical peculiarities of the place: Clairmont is indeed a site with a clear undisturbed view over the whole region and the change in the pronunciation of *Kalavryta* makes J. Longnon seek a relationship to the French word "couleuvre" (grass-snake) — Colovrate/Coulovrate.²⁴⁵

«Τὸ κάστρο τῆς Ὀριᾶς». This situation of the language contacts during the period treated presupposes a certain strengthening of the folklore tradition. Some legends that we have already mentioned lead us to believe that as early as the first half of the thirteenth century the formation of a folklore circle began in the Greek environment, presenting the conquest. It is difficult to determine and even to propose methods for tracing the process which in the interaction of local and Frankish tradition brought about this interesting synthesis embodied in the Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*. The major role falls to the detailed study of the later periods of the interaction between the natives and the conquerors till the middle of the fourteenth century. For

244. M.J. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority...', 309 ff.

245. J. Longon, 'Les noms...', 105.

the present this task goes beyond the scope of my modest aims.

In conclusion I would like to note that among all the song series in Peloponnesian folklore which I have been able to study, there is only one related to the period of the frangokratia — the cycle nowadays widely popular all over Greece of the 'Castle of the Beauty' (belonging to the type of ἀκριτικά τραγούδια). I venture to agree that the most daring chronological references of its Peloponnesian version reach as far back as the seventies of the thirteenth century. Is there a reflection in it of the activities of Geoffrey of Briel Junior in Skorta?

«Ὅλα τὰ κάστρα τὰ εἶδα κι ὅλα τὰ ἔγυρα·
σὰν τῆς Ὠριᾶς τὸ κάστρο κάστρο δέν εἶδα.
Κάστρο κάστρο δέν εἶδα,
Φράγκα μὲ τὰ ρεπαντιά.»²⁴⁶

The phases in the interaction between the Franks and the native inhabitants which I have examined, with their different manifestations in the different social-life spheres, reflecting the specificity of the process in the towns and in the villages of the peninsula, lead us to the following more general observations.

When in the winter/spring of 1205 the crusaders began the conquest of the peninsula, they already had well in mind a supreme moral and religious ideal and an awareness of the leading role of knighthood in the northern-French feudal society. Trying to realize this ideal in the newly acquired lands, they at the same time remained faithful to the other ordinance of the day in the development of France at the close of the twelfth century, namely, the decree for change. During the period examined for the Morea,

246. This is the beginning of the song (the version is from Kynouria): D.A. Petropoulos, 'Ἀκριτικά τραγούδια στὴν Πελοπόννησο', P 2 (1957), 363-8. The location of the fortress has many variants but for Kynouria this was most probably La Estella (Astros).

the Franks played a more active role in the interaction, because they were the conquerors and possessed a relatively homogeneous and lasting ethnic characteristics.

Already in the course of the conquest the Franks took account not only of the requirements of the material environment but also of local tradition *on all social levels*. In the middle of the century, when the peninsula was already subjected, they proceeded to subinfeudation and the dubbing of some of the Peloponnesian archons. At the same time they accepted as their own patronyms a considerable part of the local place names where they acquired lands.

The most active social forces in the Peloponnese before the conquest — comprised of the high secular and church aristocracy were ousted from the interaction, mostly as a result of their own behaviour. The middle strata who profited from co-operation with the conquerors, particularly in the towns came to the fore. In the construction of new fortresses and Frankish churches, and in satisfying the economic needs of the new ruling class, the lower layers also participated. The peasantry, however, as a whole, was left outside the interaction.



Conclusion

«...στην Πομπηία τῆς Ἑλλάδας, στὸ Μυστρά.
Ὁ ἱερός αὐτὸς λόφος, ὅπου γεννήθηκε ἡ νέα
Ἑλλάδα...»

Ν. Καζαντζάκης
(Ἀναφορὰ στὸν Γκρέκο, 193)

In 1205 for the first time in the history of the Peloponnese a process commenced which ended fifty years later with the full subordination of the peninsula to foreign rule. Knights from Champagne and Burgundy, together with Catholic monastic and military orders, occupied the ancient land of Pelops. They came to stay there and brought the spirit of the New Europe which was being born at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries — the spirit of town culture. In the newly acquired lands this spirit aided in their successes: the first generation of conquerors established traditions which, without being a provincial alternative of the French ones, laid the foundations of a social and cultural phenomenon reminiscent of France of the two initial decades of Philip II Augustus and at the same time considering the effects of the first half of the thirteenth century.

The new state formation, although gradually shrinking in the north-west, continued its existence after 1262 for nearly two more centuries. Is not one of the basic reasons for its vitality to be explained by the character of the social and cultural interaction between the conquerors and the local population in the first period

of its existence? The account in the preceding chapters, I think, enables us to answer this question in the affirmative.

Of primary importance is the fact that the Franks managed to find their bearings very well in the new anthropogeographical environment. They made use of all the advantages which Elis, 'the Plain of Morea' as they called it, can offer in comparison with the remaining historicogeographical areas of the peninsula. We can even assume that this is one of the premises bringing the lasting spread of the name of "Morea" over the whole peninsula, particularly in the age of the frangokratia. And the protective constructions erected and consolidated without following any preliminary plan but the course of the conquest and the configuration of the terrain remained until the time of the liberation from the Turkish domination.

The establishment of the conquerors along the periphery of the peninsula took longest and had the greatest consequences. It is not by mere chance that the Byzantine reconquest commencing from Laconia was victorious last in the northern and western coasts of the Peloponnese. And in the peripheral areas the compactness of the Frankish element was greatest in the towns. This was a result both of its demographic weakness and of the features of the Peloponnesian development during the previous age.

The social and cultural development of the peninsula in the twelfth century illustrates the differences in the historical process in the centre and in the provinces of Byzantium, likewise in the periphery and the interior of the Peloponnese itself. The increased polarization in the relations with Constantinople was stimulated by growing corruption in the administration, tax abuses, unpunished pirate raids along the coastal areas, and the inability of Constantinople to further the economic growth of the province. Thus, no balanced interrelations could be established between the towns and the country in the Peloponnese, a development which would have been expected with the progress of the local town centres on the threshold of developed feudalism. No use was made of the opportunities which might have brought the peninsula to the fore in the overall development of the Empire. The weakness of

the towns was prominent in the practical disappearance of local institutions and in the combining of the activities expected in an urban economy with those typical for the agrarian surrounding. On the other hand, in the century when the reconstruction of the Byzantine ruling class brought it closer to the West European 'feudal standards' (A. P. Kazhdan), in the age of the military aristocracy of the Komnenos clan, the Peloponnese proved to be deprived of a similar high social stratum, originating on local grounds. This had serious consequences for the behaviour of the local social elite and the middle strata (the archons), for the considerable role of the church, and for the public psychology of the Peloponnesians as a whole. The archons in the provinces were separated from the imperial aristocratic families by the not-fully-closed group of the provincial *sebastoi*. The character of the sources suggests that the archons possessed the greater part of the land in the city vicinities and benefited from the settlement of the Venetians in them. For the time being the question of the existence of "classical" (military) pronia in the Peloponnese by the sixties of the thirteenth century cannot be answered in the affirmative.

In this light the personality and the activities of Leo Sgouros fail to present us with the type of "archontic behaviour", as traditionally accepted. He represented a great landed magnate — probably from the circles of the so-called 'dynasts' — who gained his position by imposing his power in Argonauplia and Corinthia and by moving up the imperial hierarchy to marriage in the family of the Angeloi. Nothing in these activities suggests the presence of a 'national Greek party'. Sgouros clearly demonstrated his lack of commitment with the old political regime and pursued his own social and political interests. The territories on which he extended his rule at the zenith of his power (August - September 1204) formed an independent small state. Its centre — the triangle made by the fortresses Akrocorinth - Akronauplia - Larissa (Argos) — became an impregnable citadel but the fatal situation in which Sgouros found himself by 1208/1209 brought him to suicide and that was the end of his state.

Not only did social powers who had won independence before

or a little later than the fall of Constantinople (Sgouros, Michael Doukas, the Chamaretoi, the son of the Greek "seigneur" in Messenia) adhere to this type of most pronounced resistance in the course of the conquest. So, too, did social forces which had a tradition of self-government (Monemvasia, the Slavs of the Taygetos). The turning aside of the alien by passive resistance (refuge, forced emigration) quite often was a transitional phenomenon from a position of active resistance, and in some fortified places it was stimulated by the sociopsychological mechanisms by means of which the new political rule began to materialize its domination. As a type of behaviour this phenomenon was most characteristic of the high Peloponnesian clergy.

There were no clear boundaries between the two forms of active co-operation by the local population in the course of the conquest: transfer of information where probably the lower strata participated (there the superficial assimilation did not exclude the decision to reject the alien), and direct participation in the army of the Franks and in their undertakings for the appropriation of the new lands (the predominant part of the Moreot archons). In this respect the methods of the Frankish conquest proved to be of paramount importance.

As a whole the forces which in 1205 withstood the conquerors proved to be within the town fortresses. In the peninsula the Franks found several town formations which quite recently had reached their highest development in the Early Middle Ages: Corinth, Monemvasia, Lakedaimon, Patras. This facilitated the interaction in the economic sphere under the form of a real symbiosis despite the deterioration of the economic status of the local population, inevitable under any foreign domination. But in the period considered the Frankish rule did not bring about the final stage of the opposition between town and village in the peninsula as it, on one hand, stimulated the economic activity of the town centres, and, on the other, it strengthened their relations with the agrarian environment by purchasing agricultural produce.

The supreme phase of the interaction was the synthesis of the social institutions. The integration of the local archons in the struc-

ture of the Frankish elite is an unprecedented phenomenon in the recent history of all Frankish colonies after 1204 (on a small scale it was only observed on the island of Crete). The main reason is concealed in the above-mentioned characteristic features of the local dominating class amongst which the imperial ideal found no stable ground. In actual fact, real military landed aristocracy was for the first time lastingly established on the peninsula namely in the person of the Franks. Two aspects of this conclusion are significant: 1. The maturity of the Peloponnesian social development to accept similar implantation; 2. The sociopsychological effect of the chivalrous *ethos* on the attitude of local archons. Of particular importance is the break, to which in my view insufficient attention has been paid, between the political and religious awareness of the archons in the Peloponnese. After 1204 'political Orthodoxy' no longer determined the basic aspects of their thinking and attitude. Religion in its Orthodox alternative became the only limiting criterion for the direct participation in the foreign social and political system. This was a change having serious consequences for Hellenism in the future development of the Morea.

But as a whole the socio-cultural interaction has not been fully expressed in its phases of appropriation, reinterpretation and synthesis, because of the rather particular character of the phase of acquaintance in the period under examination (a military conquest). No less significant a reason is concealed in the uneven cross section of the contacting *milieu* — a part of the Frankish society representing the elite chivalrous culture and a local social structure having strong traditions in the past, especially in a rustic environment.

The conclusions drawn thus far suggest that, indeed, the character of the socio-cultural interaction between the Franks and the local population during its initial period determined the future relative stability of the new state; however, because of the social limitations, this character enabled the preservation of a social substrate practically unaffected by foreign rule. At such a level it is more proper to speak about contacts and not about interaction. The functioning of the Orthodox religious cult with a Greek clergy,

the toponymy, the elements of legendary character in the Greek tradition reflecting the conquest suggest no symbiosis, but rather opposition. Whilst the "foster-men" of Geoffrey of Briel, the seigneur of Karytaina, were knighted for loyal service, in the same mountain area — in Skorta, and mostly in the Taygetos — the population sided with the Byzantine armies. Although slowly, the Frankish conquest caused the appearance of tendencies towards self-identification and self-cognizance among the Moreots which were ultimately crowned with the cultural efflorescence of Mistra in the first half of the fifteenth century: that last retreat for Byzantium and simultaneously the first birth of new Greece.

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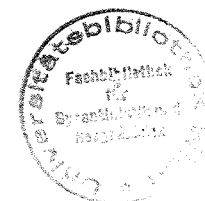
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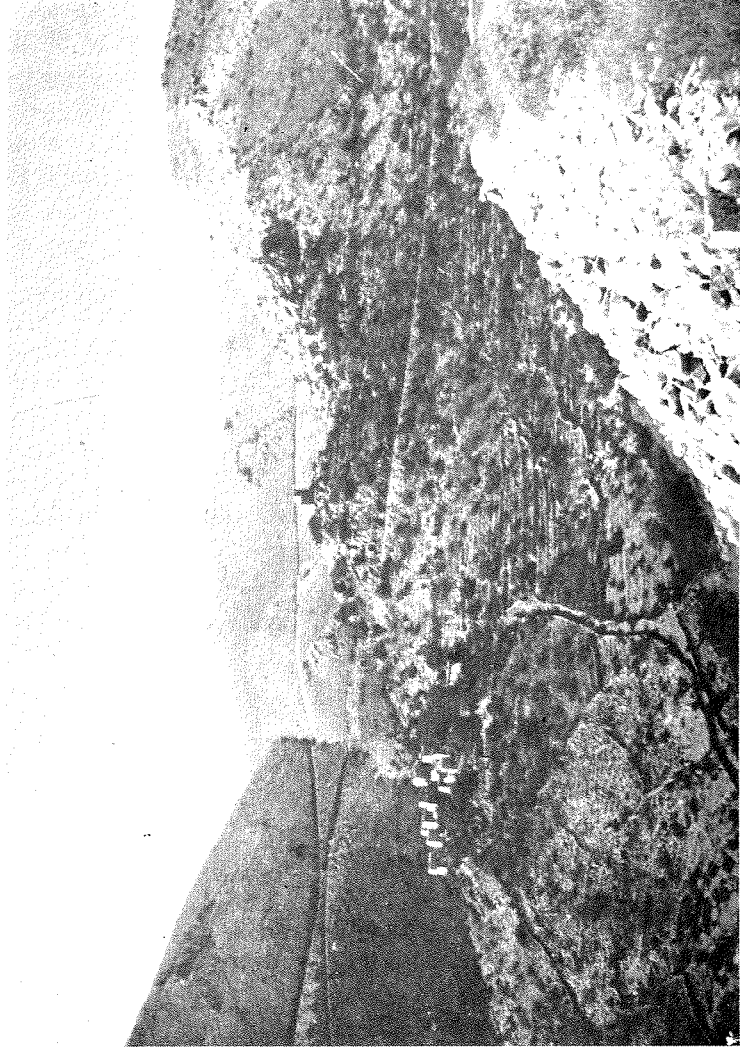
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LIST OF PLATES



Mani



Patras. Sectors of the External Wall of the Fortress



Argos: General View of the Castle



Argos. Remnants of the North Wall of the Redoubt



Mistra: The Castle of William II of Villehardouin



Mistra: The Southeast Foot of the Hill

Περίληψη στά Ἑλληνικά

ΦΡΑΓΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΟΡΙΑΣ (1205-1262)

*Κοινωνική-πολιτιστική ἀλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ
Φράγκων καί ντόπιου πληθυσμοῦ*

Ἀπό τήν ἀρχαιότητα ἀκόμη ἡ Πελοπόννησος, γνωστή ἀπό τόν ΙΓ' αἰώνα καί ἐξῆς περισσότερο ὡς Μοριάς, καταλαμβάνει ἰδιαίτερη θέση στήν ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλλάδας. Καί σήμερα παραμένει ἰδιάζουσα περιοχή, διαμέρισμα τῆς ἡπειρωτικῆς Ἑλλάδας. Οἱ ἴδιοι οἱ Ἕλληνες διακρίνουν τοὺς Ρουμελιώτες ἀπό τοὺς Μοραῖτες, καθὼς θεωροῦν τοὺς τελευταίους πῶς ζωντανούς καί πῶς λεπτεπίλεπτους. Σπανιότατα ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἀποτελοῦσε ἐνιαία κρατική περιφέρεια. Ἀκριβῶς μετά ἀπὸ τὴν κατάκτηση τῶν σταυροφόρων, ἂν καί γιὰ σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα, γιὰ πρώτη φορά γίνεται ὁ πυρήνας ἐνὸς κράτους, τοῦ ὁποῦ τὰ σύνορα περίπου συμπίπτουν μέ τὸ διάγραμμα τῆς, δηλαδή τὸ οὕτως καλούμενο πριγκιπάτο τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἢ τοῦ Μορέως.

Τὸ πριγκιπάτο ὑφίσταται ὡς τὸ ἔτος 1430/1432, ὅμως κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς μακρᾶς αὐτῆς περιόδου βρίσκεται στὸ κέντρο τῶν ἱστορικῶν γεγονότων γιὰ σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα. Ὁ φράγκικος Μορέας φθάνει στὸν κολοφώνα τῆς ἀκμῆς του στά μέσα τοῦ ΙΓ' αἰώνα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐγκατάσταση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν στὸ νοτιοανατολικό τμήμα τῆς χερσονήσου (1262) σχεδὸν συνεχῶς ἀναζητεῖ συμμάχους ἢ προστάτες. Ὡς ὅλον ὅμως μετὰ τὸ 1204 ἡ σημασία τῆς Πελοποννήσου στήν Ἀνατολική Μεσόγειο αὐξάνεται σημαντικά, ἐνῶ ἡ παράλληλη συμβίωση τῶν δύο διαφορετικῶν κρατικῶν δομῶν σ' αὐτὴν κά-

μνει «τήν υπόθεση Μορέας» ακόμη πιο ενδιαφέρουσα. Όταν οι έπαρχίες αυτές της περιφέρειας της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας προοδευτικά επιστρέφουν στην έστία τους με κέντρο τόν Μυστρά, στο χώρο αυτό ανθίζει ιδιότυπη προαναγεννησιακή κουλτούρα.

Όλα αυτά προκαθορίζουν τό συνεχές ενδιαφέρον για τό πριγκιπάτο της Άχαΐας μεταξύ τών έρευνητών που ασχολούνται με τά λατινικά κράτη της Άνατολής. Σήμερα ή πολιτική και μέχρις ενός βαθμού ή κοινωνικοοικονομική της ιστορία είναι συγκριτικά πάρα πολύ γνωστές σέ σχέση με τίς υπόλοιπες έλληνικές χώρες που βρέθηκαν υπό τήν έξουσία τών Λατίνων. Παρόμοια όμως «μερική» τακτική δέν χρησιμοποιεί τίς δυνατότητες, τίς όποιες παρέχει ή Πελοπόννησος ως γεωγραφικός και πολιτιστικός χώρος, ιδιαίτερα σημαντικές για τή συγκριτική εξέταση της Φραγκοκρατίας στην Έλλάδα. Η άγνοια κάποιων πλευρών της ιστορικής εξέλιξεως συνεχίζει νά δημιουργεί αντιθετικές εκτιμήσεις μεταξύ τών έπιστημόνων: σχετικά με τίς σφαΐρες και τό χαρακτήρα τών επαφών μεταξύ κατακτητών και ύποταγμένων και σχετικά με τά αποτελέσματα τους για τόν ελληνικό και βυζαντινό κόσμο. Νά γιατί στο παρόν έργο κατεβλήθη προσπάθεια νά χρησιμοποιηθεί νέα τακτική έναντι του προβλήματος, αφού συνειδητά έχει επιλεγεί ή πρώτη ιστορική δυνατή χρονολογική περικοπή κατά τήν εξέτασή του.

Είσαγωγή.

Σκοπός της Είσαγωγής είναι νά δείξει τή μονομέρεια και από αυτή και τό περιορισμένο βεληνεκές της έρευνας στίς έως τώρα εκδεδομένες μελέτες επί τη βάσει της παρουσιάσεως της ιστοριογεωγραφίας που εξετάζει συγκεκριμένα τό τεθέν πρόβλημα. Ός αποτέλεσμα προσφέρεται νέα διατύπωση στην αποτίμηση τών επιτεύξεων στην επεξεργασία της γενικής και μερικής μεθοδολογίας και μεθοδικής τών ιστορικών έρευνών, ιδιαίτερα εν σχέσει προς τό Μεσαίωνα και τό Βυζάντιο.

Στήν ιστοριογραφική ανασκόπηση έχουν περιληφθεί οι μελέτες τών Jean Longnon, Antoine Bon, David Jacoby, Peter

Topping και Μιχαήλ Κορδώση. Παρά τή μεγάλη της σημασία, ως βασική εργασία για τόν Φράγκικο Μορέα καθ' όλη τήν περίοδο της υπάρξεώς του, ή γνωστή μονογραφία του Α. Bon δέν παρέχει ολοκληρωτική άποψη για όλες τίς πλευρές «της επαφής μεταξύ τών πολιτισμών», όπως εκφράζεται ό συγγραφέας της, και ό ίδιος σέ παρόμοιους όρισμούς δέν διαφέρει από τούς άλλους έρευνητές. Γίνεται λόγος για «συνάντηση δύο κοινωνιών, κοινοτήτων, κόσμων, πολιτισμών, κουλτουρών», χωρίς νά περιγράφονται τά χαρακτηριστικά της πελοποννησιακής αναπτύξεως και ή κοινωνική στενοκεφαλιά της ίπποτικής έλίτ εν σχέσει προς τήν κοινωνική δομή. Έξ αιτίας αυτού κατέστη αναγκαίο στή δομή της διαπραγματεύσεως νά συμπεριληφθούν δύο διαμορφωμένοι κρίκοι: τό Α' κεφάλαιο, που έχει ως σκοπό νά δείξει μέχρι ποίου σημείου στίς αρχές του ΙΓ' αιώνα ή Πελοπόννησος είναι τυπική έπαρχία του «βυζαντινού πολιτισμού», και ή α' παράγραφος του Γ' κεφαλαίου, όπου κατ' ανάλογο τρόπο τά έπιτεύγματα της όλης μεσαιωνολογίας ακολουθούν τίς παραμέτρους του ήθους και της κοινωνικής πραγματώσεως, χαρακτηριστικών της ίπποσύνης στο βόρειο τμήμα του βασιλείου της Γαλλίας κατά τούς χρόνους του Φιλίππου Β' του Αύγουστου.

Έπεξηγείται ή άφετηριακή μας θέση κατά τή διατύπωση του προβλήματος ως «άλληλεπιδράσεως» και όχι ως προσαρμογής: Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης δέν είναι ή θεωρητική εξέταση της κουλτούρας, της όποιας άφετηριακό και θεμελιώδες έργο (λειτουργία) είναι ή προσαρμογή, αλλά ή αποκάλυψη της συγκεκριμένης - ιστορικής της εκφράσεως σέ καθορισμένο τόπο και χρόνο. Δικαιολογείται ό όρισμός της «επαφής» ως «άλληλεπιδράσεως» και όχι ως επιδράσεως εξ αιτίας του διμερούς της χαρακτήρα, αν και αυτή είναι άνισα ένεργητική στίς δύο κατευθύνσεις.

Ο όρισμός της δευτέρας κατηγορικής τάξεως —«άλληλεπίδραση» ως «κοινωνικοπολιτιστική» —έξάγεται επί τη βάσει της άποδοχής, εκ μέρους μας, της αντίληψεως για τήν κουλτούρα στην πιο γενική της μορφή: Η ανάπτυξη του ανθρώπου που συνειδητά προσδιορίζει τό σκοπό του ως δημιουργική, κοι-

νωνική ύπαρξη ἐν δύο «ὑποστάσεσι». Ἡ ὑποκειμενική («ἐσωτερικότητα») εἶναι ἡ αὐτογνωσία καὶ ἡ πνευματική τελείωση, ἐνῶ ἡ ἀντικειμενική εἶναι τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῆς ἀνθρώπινης δραστηριότητος στίς μεθόδους γιά ἐκμάθηση τῆς πραγματικότητος («ἐξωτερικότητα»). Μέ αὐτή τήν ἔννοια ἡ κουλτούρα ἐμφανίζεται καί μέρος καί ἄποψη τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ, αὐτή εἶναι ἀνώτατη ἐκφρασή του.

Ἡ γνώση τῆς θεωρίας τῆς πολιτιστικῆς ἀλληλεπιδράσεως καί ἡ πραγματικότητα τοῦ συσχετισμοῦ τῶν ὄρων «κουλτούρα» - «πολιτισμός» μᾶς παρέχουν βάση νά ἰσχυρισθοῦμε ὅτι δέν ὑφίσταται διάλογος μεταξύ κουλтурῶν καί πολιτισμῶν γενικά, ἀλλά μεταξύ τῶν ὑποκειμένων τῆς κουλτούρας, ξεχωριστῶν κοινωνικῶν δομῶν πού πραγματώνονται μόνο μέσῳ τῆς κουλτούρας. Ὁ σκοπός τῆς ἐργασίας σέ παρόμοια τακτική (στάση) ὀρίζεται ὡς ἀπόπειρα νά παρουσιασθεῖ, μέσῳ τῆς κουλτούρας ὡς κοινωνικοῦ καί ἀνθρώπινου μέτρου, ἡ ὑποκειμενική πλευρά τῆς κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικῆς ἀλληλεπιδράσεως μεταξύ τῶν Φράγκων ἱπποτῶν καί τῆς βυζαντινῆς κοινωνίας στήν πελοποννησιακή τῆς παραλλαγή. Γι' αὐτό καί ἡ κατάκτηση τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὡς τό πλέον εὐρύ μέτωπο τῆς ἐπαφῆς αὐτῆς παρατίθεται σέ ξεχωριστές παραγράφους σέ δύο ἐπίπεδα: α) ὀριζοντίως, ἡ ἐκτάσή της στό χρόνο καί οἱ διαστάσεις της ὡς γεγονότος (κεφάλαιο Β', §1), καί β) καθέτως, οἱ σταδιακές τῆς παράμετροι ἐν σχέσει πρός τή στάση τῶν κατακτητῶν καί τῶν ὑπερασπιστῶν (κεφάλαιο Γ', §2).

Ἐν σχέσει πρός τόν καθορισμό τῆς ἐπὶ μέρους μεθοδολογίας τῆς θεωρίας τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς κουλτούρας καί τῆς συγκεκριμένης μεθόδου τῆς μελέτης χρησιμοποιοῦνται τὰ πλέον νέα ἐπιτεύγματα τῆς ἱστοριοανθρωπολογικῆς στάσεως ἐναντι τῆς βυζαντινῆς κουλτούρας καθῶς καί οἱ συνδεδεμένες μ' αὐτή μέθοδοι σειρᾶς μεθοριακῶν ἐπιστημῶν, ἰδιαίτερα τῆς κοινωνικῆς ψυχολογίας καί τῆς γλωσσολογίας.

Ἐχει γίνει σύντομη ἀνασκόπηση τῶν νέων σημείων στήν ἐρευνα τῶν πηγῶν γιά τόν Φράγκικο Μορέα, πού ἀπό πολύ καιρό ἔχουν εἰσαχθεῖ σέ ἐπιστημονική κυκλοφορία καί ἀναφέρονται στήν ὑπό ἐξέταση περίοδο, καθῶς καί ὠρισμένων ἀγνώ-

στων μέχρι πρὶν ἀπό λίγο καιρό ἢ λίγο γνωστῶν πηγῶν μαρτυριῶν. Στό σύνολο τοῦ πηγαιῶν ὕλικου ἔχουν περιληφθεῖ τὰ γραπτά ἀφηγήματα καί ἐπιστολογραφικές πηγές, τὰ τοπωνύμια, ἡ τοπογραφία καί ἡ ἀρχαιολογία τῆς Πελοποννήσου, οἱ νομισματικές καί σφραγιδολιθικές πληροφορίες, τὰ πελοποννησιακά δημοτικά τραγούδια.

Κεφάλαιο Α'. «Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Πελοπόννησος κατὰ τὸν IB' αἰῶνα».

Ἡ ἐκθεση ἐδῶ ἔχει ὀργανωθεῖ γύρω ἀπὸ δύο ἄξονες: α) τὰ ἰδιαίτερα γνωρίσματα τῆς Πελοποννήσου σέ ἀνθρωπογεωγραφική σχέση καί β) τὰ χαρακτηριστικά τῆς κοινωνικῆς - πολιτιστικῆς ἀναπτύξεως κατὰ τὴ IB' ἑκατονταετία.

Στό πρῶτο τμήμα χρησιμοποιεῖται ἐιδικὴ ἐπιστημονικὴ βιβλιογραφία καί προσωπικὲς παρατηρήσεις τῆς συγγραφέα. Ἐπιβάλλεται ἡ ἐντύπωση ὅτι ἡ Πελοπόννησος εἶναι ὄχι μόνο γεωγραφικά ἀποκλεισμένη, ἀλλά καί προσιτὴ κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἀπὸ τίς ἀκτές. Παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ διείσδυση πρός τό ἐσωτερικὸ δέν εἶναι εὐκόλη. Ἡ ἰδιαιτερότητα αὐτῆ τοῦ ἐδάφους καθορίζει τό χαρακτήρα τοῦ ὁδικοῦ δικτύου ἀκόμη ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Ἡ ἐντύπωση γιά ἀπομόνωση ἐνισχύεται καί ἀπὸ τό πελοποννησιακό τοπίο. Ἐκτός ἀπὸ τὴν ἀντιπαράθεση μεταξύ περιφερείας καί περιοχῶν τοῦ ἐσωτερικοῦ πού ἐκφράζεται σαφῶς, οἱ σχετικές ἐρευνες δείχνουν τὴν ὑπαρξὴ ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν οὐσιαστικῶν διαφορῶν μεταξύ τοῦ δυτικοῦ καί τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ τμήματος τῆς χερσονήσου, ἀφ' ἑτέρου δέ ὠρισμένων διαμορφωμένων ἱστοριογεωγραφικῶν περιοχῶν σ' αὐτή. Στὴ διαπραγμάτευση σ' αὐτές ἔχει καταβληθεῖ ἰδιαίτερη προσοχή, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Φράγκοι πράγματι ἐγκαθίστανται μονιμότερα στὴ Δυτικὴ Πελοπόννησο, ἐνῶ σέ μερικές ἐπαρχίες ἡ παρουσία τους εἶναι σύντομη καί ἀναποτελεσματικὴ. Σέ σύγκριση μέ τό μεγαλύτερο μέρος τῶν μεσογειακῶν χωρῶν τό δυτικὸ τμήμα τῆς χερσονήσου εἶναι προικισμένο ἀπὸ τὴ φύση καί διαθέτει σειρά ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπογεωγραφικά πλεονεκτήματα.

Ἡ ἐξέταση δείχνει ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπογεωγραφικὴ ἄποψη ἡ

Πελοπόννησος δέν παρουσιάζει κάποια ένότητα μέ φυσικό έσω-
τερικό κέντρο γιά εϋνοϊκή δημογραφική καί πολιτιστική ανά-
πτυξη. Συγχρόνως διαπιστώνει κανείς ότι μέσφ τών φυσικών
δεδομένων, πού διαθέτει ή 'Ηλεία, ύφίσταται δυνατότητα γιά
συνένωση τών γεωγραφικά άποκεντρωμένων περιοχών.

Η κοινωνική πολιτιστική ανάπτυξη της χερσονήσου κατά
τόν ΙΒ' αιώνα έπικυρώνει τίς παρατηρήσεις γιά τό άνισο της
ιστορικής εξέλιξεως στό κέντρο καί τίς έπαρχίες του Βυζα-
ντίου, στην περιφέρεια καί τό έσωτερικό της ίδιας της Πελο-
ποννήσου. Οί σχέσεις της τελευταίας μέ την Κωνσταντινούπο-
λη παρακολουθούνται επί τη βάσει της πολιτικής (κοσμικής
καί εκκλησιαστικής) καί της στρατιωτικής όργανώσεως, της
οικονομικής βάσεως στίς σχέσεις της πρωτεύουσας μέ τίς έπαρ-
χίες πού έμφανίζεται γιά πρώτη φορά κατά τόν ΙΒ' αιώνα.
Διαπιστώνεται ότι ή πόλωση ισχυροποιείται έξ αίτίας της δια-
φθοράς στή θεματική διοίκηση, τών φορολογικών καταχρήσε-
ων, τών πειρατικών επιδρομών κατά μήκος τών άκτών καί
της άδυναμίας της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νά ένισχύσει την οί-
κονομική πρόοδο της έπαρχίας. Μ' αυτόν τόν τρόπο όμως
δέν δημιουργούνται ισόρροπες άμοιβαίες σχέσεις μεταξύ πό-
λεως καί χωριού στην Πελοπόννησο, οί όποιες θά έπρεπε νά
αναμένονται κατά την άνθιση τών τοπικών άστικών κέντρων
στό κατώφλι του άνεπτυγμένου φεουδαλισμού. Δέν αξιοποιού-
νται οί δυνατότητες πού έξ αίτίας της πιό μεγάλης δημογραφι-
κής έπιστρατεύσεως του τύπου της άστικοποιήσεως θά μπο-
ρούσαν νά όδηγήσουν τή χερσόνησο στην πρώτη γραμμή της
όλης αναπτύξεως της αυτοκρατορίας.

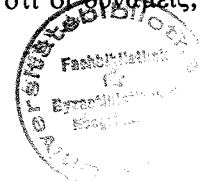
Επί τη βάσει τών πληροφοριών, οί όποιες συστηματοποιή-
θηκαν από τόν Α. Ρ. Kazdan κατά την εξέταση πού άφορά
τή σύνθεση της κυριαρχούσας τάξεως του Βυζαντίου, καθώς
καί σέ άλλες παρατηρήσεις, έξάγεται τό συμπέρασμα ότι κατά
τόν αιώνα της στρατιωτικής άριστοκρατίας της δυναστείας
τών Κομνηνών ή Πελοπόννησος στερείται από τό άνώτατο
στρώμα της κυριαρχούσας τάξεως πού έμφανίστηκε σέ τοπι-
κή βάση. Αυτό έχει σοβαρές συνέπειες γιά τή συμπεριφορά
της κοινωνικής έλίτ καί τών μεσαίων στρωμάτων, αλλά καί

γιά την κοινωνική ψυχολογία τών Πελοποννησίων.

Επί τη βάσει τών μαρτυριών γιά τίς βυζαντινές έπαρχίες
κατά τούς ΙΑ'-ΙΒ' αιώνες, γιά την ανάπτυξη της Νίκαιας καί
γενικά γιά τή μορφή της κυριαρχούσας τάξεως την εποχή τών
Κομνηνών, ύποστηρίζεται ή άποψη ότι οί έπαρχιακοί άρχον-
τες είναι τό μεσαίο στρώμα σ' αυτή, καθώς από τό ύψηλό
σκαλοπάτι (αυτοκρατορικές άριστοκρατικές οικογένειες) τό
χωρίζει άνεπαρκώς ή κλειστή ομάδα τών έπαρχιακών σεβα-
στοκρατόρων. Ο χαράκτηρας του πηγαιού ύλικού μās παρέ-
χει τή δυνατότητα νά ισχυρισθούμε ότι οί άρχοντες κατέχουν
τό μεγαλύτερο μέρος τών γαιών στά περίχωρα τών πόλεων
καί σαφώς έχουν όφελος από την έγκατάσταση τών Βενετών
σ' αυτές. Επειδή ούτε μία πηγή της περιόδου ως τό 1204 δέν
όμιλει γιά την ύπαρξη του θεσμού της προνοίας στή χερσόνη-
σο, καί ή γνωστή έρευνα του D. Jacoby άποδεικνύει ότι οί
μαρτυρίες του Χρονικού του Μορέως (πού συντάχθηκε κατά
τόν ΙΔ' αιώνα) κατά πāsαν πιθανότητα είναι άναχρονισμός,
νομίζουμε ότι στό σημερινό στάδιο της έρευνας τό πρόβλημα
γιά την ύπαρξη της «κλασικής» (στρατιωτικής) προνοίας στην
Πελοπόννησο ως την εμφάνιση εκ νέου σ' αυτήν τών Βυζαντι-
νών δέν μπορεί νά λυθεί θετικά.

Παρόμοια κατάσταση τών κοινωνικά άναδειγμένων στρω-
μάτων στην κοινωνία της Πελοποννήσου προϋποθέτει διαδρα-
μάτιση σημαντικού ρόλου εκ μέρους τών τοπικών άρχιεπισκό-
πων καί της Έκκλησίας ως όλου. Αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από
τίς πηγές. Δύο από τούς άνώτατους εκκλησιαστικούς ιεράρ-
χες της Πελοποννήσου καταλείπουν ίχνη στή διανοητική δρα-
στηριότητα της αυτοκρατορικής κοινωνικής άφρόκρεμας κα-
τά τόν ΙΒ' αιώνα, ό επίσκοπος Μεθώνης Νικόλαος καί ό άρ-
χιεπίσκοπος Κορίνθου Γρήγοριος Πάρδος. Ίδιαίτερα δραστή-
ριος είναι ό κληρος της Πελοποννήσου στή σφαίρα της λα-
τρειακής οικοδομήσεως.

Εν κατακλείδι τονίζεται ότι ή όψη της ιστορίας της Πελο-
ποννήσου στην έκατονταετία πριν από την κατάκτηση παρέ-
χεται από την πόλη μέ τίς ποικίλες εκφράσεις της δραστηριό-
τητάς της. Δέν είναι τυχαίο τό γεγονός ότι οί άρχοντες, πού



κατά τό 1205 αντιμετωπίζουν τούς κατακτητές Φράγκους, βρίσκονται στά φρούρια τῶν πόλεων. Ἡ κοινωνική κατάσταση ὅμως, στήν ὁποία περιπίπτουν οἱ ἑλληνικές ἐπαρχίες στό τέλος τοῦ αἰῶνα, δέν εὐνοεῖ τή συνέχιση τῆς οἰκονομικῆς προόδου. Ἐτσι ὅσο πιο κάτω κατέρχεται αὐτή στήν κλίμακα τῆς τυπολογίας —ἀπό τίς μεγάλες πόλεις πρὸς τὰ συνηθισμένα φρούρια— τόσο περισσότερο μειώνεται ὁ ἡγετικός ρόλος τῆς πόλεως, ἰδιαίτερα στό ἐσωτερικό τῆς χερσονήσου.

*Κεφάλαιο Β'. Πολιτική καί διοικητική ἀνάπτυξη
τοῦ Φράγκικου Μορέα (1204-1262)*

1. Ἡ κατάκτηση τῆς χερσονήσου ἀπό τούς ἱππότες τῆς Δ' σταυροφορίας (1204-1252). Στήν παράγραφο αὐτή παρακολουθοῦνται τὰ στάδια τῆς σταυροφορικῆς κατακτήσεως καί τὰ κύρια χαρακτηριστικά τους. Ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς ἔρευνας τοῦ Μ. Κορδώση εἶναι διαμορφωμένα τὰ ἑξῆς στάδια: 1204/1205, 1206-1212, 1213-1224 καί 1224-1252. Γιά τόν προσδιορισμό τοῦ ἀνωτέρου χρονολογικοῦ ὁρίου τοῦ τελευταίου σταδίου ἔχουν χρησιμοποιηθεῖ οἱ νεώτερες παρατηρήσεις τοῦ Χ. Καλλιγᾶ γιά τήν ἡμερομηνία τῆς καταλήψεως τῆς Μονεμβασίας, ἡ ὁποία μετακινεῖται ἀπό τό ἔτος 1248 στό ἔτος 1252.

Ἰδιαίτερη προσοχή ἀφιερώνεται στά δύο πρῶτα στάδια, ὅταν γιά σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα οἱ σταυροφόροι καταλαμβάνουν τὰ δυτικά καί βόρεια τμήματα τῆς χερσονήσου. Τό κεντρικό σημεῖο στή διαπραγμάτευση εἶναι ἡ διασάφηση τῆς προσωπικότητος καί τῶν ἐκδηλώσεων Λέοντος τοῦ Σγουροῦ. Κατά τή συγγραφέα τῆς παρούσας ἐργασίας, αὐτές δέν ἐκπροσωποῦν, ὅπως παραδοσιακά θεωρεῖται στήν ἐπιστημονική γραμματεία, τόν τύπο «ἀρχοντική στάση», ἀλλά δραστηριότητα ἑνός μεγάλου γαιοκτῆμονα (πιθανότατα ἀπό τόν κύκλο τῶν οὕτως καλουμένων «δυνατῶν»). Ὁ Σγουρός ἀναδείχθηκε μέ τήν ἐπιβολή τῆς ἐξουσίας του στήν Ἀργοναυπλία καί ἐν συνεχείᾳ στήν Κόρινθο, μέ τήν ἀπόκτηση ἀνωτάτων τίτλων στήν αὐτοκρατορική ἱεραρχία καί τή συγγενική σχέση του μέ τήν οἰκογένεια τῶν Ἀγγέλων. Τίποτε στή δραστηριότητα αὐτή

δέν ὑποδεικνύει τήν ὑπαρξή «ἐθνικοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κόμματος», ἀντίθετα ὁ Σγουρός διαδηλώνει φανερά τήν ἀποδέσμευσή του ἀπό τό παλιό πολιτικό καθεστῶς καί ἀκολουθεῖ δικά του κοινωνικά ἐνδιαφέροντα. Οἱ ἐπαρχίες στίς ὁποῖες ἐπεκτείνει τήν ἐξουσία του στό ἀπόγαιο τῆς δυνάμεώς του (Αὐγουστος - Σεπτέμβριος 1204, ἀπό τή βορειοανατολική Πελοπόννησο ὡς τή Θεσσαλία, μέ ἐξαίρεση τήν Ἀθήνα, τῆς ὁποίας τήν πολιορκία ὁ Σγουρός δέν ἐπιτυγχάνει νά πραγματοποιήσῃ πρὶν ἀπό τίς 12 Ἀπριλίου 1204) διαμορφώνονται ὡς ἰδιότυπο κρατίδιο.

Ἡ πορεία τῆς κατακτήσεως ἀπό τούς σταυροφόρους κατά τό ἔτος 1205 ἐκτίθεται κατά τήν ἐκδοχή τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ Μορέως, δηλαδή ἀπό τήν Πάτρα πρὸς τή Μεσσηνία. Ὑποστηρίζεται ἡ ἄποψη ὅτι ἡ μοναδική μάχη σέ ἀνοικτό πεδίο, πού δίνουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἡ μάχη παρά τήν Καυκία στήν πεδιάδα τῆς Μεσσηνίας (τό θέρος ἢ τό φθινόπωρο τοῦ 1205), εἶναι ἔργο τοῦ Μιχαήλ Δούκα.

Στό τρίτο στάδιο τό κύριο πρόβλημα εἶναι ἡ ἀντίσταση τῶν Χαμαρέτων στή Λακωνία καί ἡ γενική καθυστέρηση τῆς πορείας τῆς κατακτήσεως. Θεμελιώδης πηγή γι' αὐτό εἶναι μία ἐπιστολή τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀχρίδας Δημητρίου Χωματιανοῦ, γραμμένη μετὰ τό Δεκέμβριο τοῦ 1222 καί λίγο λησμονημένη μέχρι πρὶν ἀπό μία δεκάδα χρόνια (ἤδη εἶχε δημοσιευθεῖ ἀπό τόν καρδινάλιο Pitra). Στηρίζεται ἡ ὑπόθεση, πού διατυπώθηκε ἀπό τούς Ρ. Magdalino καί Μ. Κορδώση, ὅτι μετὰ ἀπό τήν κατάληψη τῆς Λακεδαίμονος (1212;) ἡ ἀντίσταση τῆς οἰκογένειας τῶν Χαμαρέτων μεταφέρεται στή Μάνη, ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τούς Εὐδαιμονοϊωάννηδες, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἦταν προδιατεθειμένοι ὑπὲρ τῶν Λατίνων καί τῶν ὁποίων ἡ δράση δέν περιορίζεται μόνο στήν πάτριο Μονεμβασία.

2. Τό πριγκιπάτο τῆς Ἀχαΐας - «καρδιά τῆς Ρωμανίας». Ἐδῶ παρουσιάζεται ἡ ὁργάνωση τοῦ Φράγκικου Μορέα ὡς λατινικοῦ κράτους καί ἡ προοδευτική μεταβολή του σέ κέντρο τῆς Ρωμανίας. Ἡ διαπραγμάτευση στηρίζεται στίς παρατηρήσεις καί τὰ συμπεράσματα πού ἤδη ἔχουν γίνει ἀπό τήν ἐπιστήμη.

3. Ἡ μάχη στήν Πελαγονία (1259) καί οἱ συνέπειές της. Στήν παράγραφο αὐτή ἐξετάζονται οἱ αἰτίες καί τὰ περιστατικά πού

οδήγησαν στη συντριβή των ήπειρωτικο-ἀχαϊκῶν δυνάμεων ἀπὸ τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς Νίκαιας καὶ ἐν τελευταίᾳ ἀναλύσει στὴν ἀποκατάσταση τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Βυζαντίου στὸ νοτιοανατολικό τμήμα τῆς χερσονήσου. Κατὰ τὴ συμφωνία πού ἐπιτεύχθηκε στὸ τέλος τοῦ 1261 στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη μεταξύ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Η΄ Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ αἰχμαλώτου Γουλιέλμου Β΄ Βιλλεαρδουΐνου, τὸ πριγκιπάτο πρέπει νὰ παραδώσει στὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὰ φρούρια τῶν Μυστρᾶ, Γερακίου, Μαΐνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας. Ἡ ἐγκατάσταση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν σ' αὐτὰ θέτει τὴν ἀρχὴ νέας περιόδου στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ Φράγκικου Μορέα. Ἡ βυζαντινὴ αὐτοκρατορία πού ἀποκαταστάθηκε ἐδῶ προοδευτικὰ περνᾷ στὴν ἐπίθεση. Ἡ ἀποτυχία ὁμως τῶν πολεμάρχων τῆς καὶ ἡ συγκριτικὰ σταθερὴ ὥς αὐτὴ τὴ στιγμὴ δομὴ τοῦ πριγκιπάτου δὲν ἐπιτρέπουν οἱ στρατιωτικὲς ἐπιχειρήσεις κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1263-1264 νὰ προκαλέσουν ριζικὴ στροφὴ στὴν ἱστορικὴ του μοίρα κατὰ τὴν ἐρχόμενη δεκαετία.

Κεφάλαιο Γ΄. «Οἱ Φράγκοι καὶ ὁ ντόπιος πληθυσμός».

1. *Οἱ Φράγκοι ἱππότες.* Στὴν α΄ παράγραφο τοῦ θεμελιώδους αὐτοῦ γιὰ τὴν ἐργασία κεφαλαίου καταβλήθηκε προσπάθεια νὰ παρουσιασθεῖ ὁ τύπος τῆς ἱποτικῆς συμπεριφορᾶς τῶν σταυροφόρων πού ἀφικνοῦνται ἀπὸ τὴν Καμπανία καὶ τὴ Βουργουνδία καθὼς καὶ τὸ κινοῦν αὐτὴν ἠθικο-θρησκευτικὸ ἰδεῶδες. Τονίζονται οἱ παράμετροι τῶν ὀρμητικῶν μεταβολῶν στὴ Γαλλία ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Φιλίππου Β΄ τοῦ Αὐγούστου (1180-1223), τῶν ὁποίων τὰ σημαντικότερα ἀποτελέσματα συνδέονται μὲ τὴ συγκρότηση τῆς ἱπποσύνης ὡς θεσμοῦ καὶ μὲ τὴν ἀνθιση τῆς ζωῆς στὴν πόλη. Ἀποκαλύπτεται ἡ συνάντηση τοῦ ἱποτικοῦ ἥθους μὲ τὴν κοινωνικο-πολιτικὴ πρακτικὴ καὶ οἱ συνέπειές τῆς. Στὴ συνάφεια αὕτὴ τονίζεται ὅτι, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐπιδιώξεων τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν σταυροφόρων, τὸ ἱποτικὸ ἰδεῶδες ἔχει ἐνσαρκωθεῖ στὴν ἴδια τὴ φύση τῶν σταυροφορικῶν πρωτοβουλιῶν στὸν ὑψηλότετο βαθμὸ, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα αὕτὴ ἡ πιὸ μεγάλη συνάντηση βρίσκεται φανερά ἐδῶ, στὴν κατάληψη δηλαδὴ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τοὺς

σταυροφόρους πού ξεκίνησαν νὰ ἀπελευθερώσουν τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Χωρὶς νὰ θίγεται ἡ μεγάλη ἔριδα γιὰ «τὴν παρέκκλιση» τῆς Δ΄ σταυροφορίας, τονίζεται ὅτι οἱ ἱππότες πού ἐγκαθίστανται στὴν Πελοπόννησο ἐρχονται μὲ σαφὴ συναίσθηση νὰ παραμείνουν ἐκεῖ, πεπεισμένοι γιὰ τὴ δικὴ τους ὑπεροχὴ καὶ χωρὶς τύψεις συνειδήσεως.

2. *Κατακτητὲς καὶ ὑπερασπιστές.*

2.1. Ἐπὶ τὴ βάσει τῶν λίγων μαρτυριῶν, τίς ὁποῖες διαθέτουμε, καὶ τῶν νομοτελιῶν πού ἴσχυαν κατὰ τὴ συγκρότηση τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς Δ΄ σταυροφορίας καταβάλλεται προσπάθεια νὰ προσδιορισθεῖ τὸ δημογραφικὸ δυναμικὸ τῆς φράγκικης ἀποικίας. Στὸ σημεῖο αὐτὸ δὲν εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ προσκομισθοῦν κάποιοι, ἀκόμη καὶ κατὰ προσέγγιση ἀριθμοί, γιὰ τὴ συρροὴ πολιτικῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μὴ στρατιωτικῶν προσώπων, ἐν σχέσει ὁμως πρὸς τὸν φράγκικο στρατό, μὲ τὸν ὁποῖο κατακτήθηκε ἡ χερσόνησος, προτείνεται ὁ μέγιστος ἀριθμὸς τῶν 1.000 ἀνδρῶν. Παρὰ τίς δυσκολίες πού μᾶς παρέχουν οἱ πηγές, γίνεται δεκτὸ ὅτι ἡ σχετικὴ πυκνότητά τῶν ἐγκατεστημένων κατακτητῶν τῆς χερσονήσου δὲν ξεπερνοῦσε τὸν ἓναν ἄνθρωπο ἀνὰ τετραγωνικὸ χιλιόμετρο, ἐνῶ ἡ ἀντιστοιχία περιοχῆς / φεούδου ἦταν κατὰ μέσο ὄρο 54 τετραγωνικά χιλιόμετρα γιὰ κάθε φέουδο.

2.2. *Ἀντίσταση καὶ συνεργασία.* Ἐδῶ ἐξετάζονται λεπτομερῶς καὶ οἱ τρεῖς συστηματοποιημένοι δυνατοὶ τύποι τῆς στάσεως (συμπεριφορᾶς) στὴν ἀλληλεπίδραση κατὰ τὴν πορεία τῆς κατακτῆσεως: α) ἀποφυγὴ τοῦ ξένου (δηλαδὴ φυγὴ ἀπὸ τίς κατακτηθεῖσες περιοχές ἢ ἀντίσταση μέχρι τέλους σὲ κάθε κατάλληλη εὐκαιρία), β) ἐπιφανειακὴ γνωριμία (σχεδὸν δὲν ἀποκλείει τὴν ἀπόφαση γιὰ ἀπόρριψη) καὶ γ) βαθύτερη γνωριμία μὲ ἐκλεκτικὴ ἀποδοχὴ τοῦ ξένου σύμφωνα μὲ τοὺς δικούς του κανόνες συμπεριφορᾶς.

Ἐνεργητικὴ καὶ παθητικὴ ἀντίσταση. Σὲ πρῶτο πλάνο ἐδῶ παρουσιάζονται ὁ Λέων Σγουρός καὶ οἱ ὑπερασπιστές τῆς Μονεμβασίας, πού ἀπολάμβανε μεγάλη αὐτονομία ἀπὸ τοὺς Βυζαντινούς. Ἄν πρέπει νὰ γίνεταί λόγος γιὰ «ψυχολογικὸ τραῦμα», πού προῆλθε ἀπὸ τὴν κατάκτηση, τότε αὐτὸ ἰσχύει πράγ-

ματι για τον υπερασπιστή της Ἀκροκορίνθου και τους προμάχους του οχυρού της Μονεμβασίας. Συγχρόνως τονίζεται ότι τα όρια μεταξύ ενεργού και παθητικής αντίστασης παραμένουν ανοικτά. Τό πλέον πασιφανές παράδειγμα στη σχέση αυτή είναι ο αγώνας του Ἰωάννου Χαμαρέτου στη Μάνη, ο οποίος τελειώνει με τη φυγή του στην αὐλή της Ἠλείρου.

Σ' αυτόν τον τύπο, πλέον εκφραστική αντίσταση προβάλλουν κοινωνικές δυνάμεις, οι οποίες ή διέθεταν παράδοση στην αυτοδιοίκηση (Μονεμβασία, Σλάβοι στον Ταΰγετο) ή είχαν αποκτήσει πραγματική ανεξαρτησία προηγουμένως, λίγο πριν από την πτώση της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Σγουρός, Μιχαήλ Δούκας, Χαμάρετοι, ο γιός του Ἑλληνα «βαρώνου» στη Μεσσηνία).

Ἐκτίθεται ή υπόθεση ότι μία από τις βασικές αιτίες για τη μετάβαση από την ενεργό στην παθητική αντίσταση σε ώριμα όχυρά μέρη είναι κοινωνικοί - ψυχολογικοί μηχανισμοί, με τη βοήθεια των οποίων ή νέα πολιτική έξουσία αρχίζει να πραγματώνει την κυριαρχία της. Οι ἄρχοντες της χερσονήσου, όταν αναγνωρίζουν μέ ὄρκο την έξουσία του πρίγκιπα, όχι μόνο διατηρούν τά σπίτια τους και τά κληρονομικά τους ἄγροκτήματα, αλλά και πραγματοποιούν τό πρώτο βήμα προς την ἀνθρώπωση τους στη νέα κυριαρχούσα τάξη.

Ἡ παθητική αντίσταση ως τύπος συμπεριφοράς ἀποδεικνύεται ως ή πιό διαδεδομένη μεταξύ των μελών του ἀνωτάτου κλήρου. Μεγαλύτερη πιθανότητα για ήρεμία και ἀποδοχή ὑπάρχει σε σχέση μέ τις ἐπαρχίες χωριών και τά μοναστήρια, κυρίως στις ὄρεινές περιοχές.

Ἐν σχέσει προς τις ἐκδηλώσεις ἀντιδράσεως κατά των κατακτητῶν που ἐξετάσθηκαν, τίθεται και τό πρόβλημα για τον οὕτως καλούμενο «ἐλληνικό πατριωτισμό», ἀφοῦ λαμβάνονται ὑπ' ὄψη τά χαρακτηριστικά της βυζαντινῆς ἀντιλήψεως για την ἐλευθερία (κυρίως ως φορολογικό προνόμιο) και τη δουλεία (θεωρούμενη τιμητική κατάσταση). Ἡ ἀπουσία μαρτυριῶν των πηγῶν που νά συνδέουν μέ πατριωτικά αἰσθήματα τους ἐνεργούς υπερασπιστές ὀρισμένων πελοποννησιακῶν περιοχῶν ἐπικυρώνει τις παρατηρήσεις μας στό προηγούμενο κεφάλαιο, ότι δηλαδή για «ἐλληνικό πατριωτισμό» στην περιοχή

αὐτή δέν μπορεί νά γίνει λόγος ὥς τό 600 ἔτος του αἰώνα. Ἡ ρωμαϊκή παράδοση, ή ὀρθοδοξία —αὐτά είναι τά γνωρίσματα του συγκροτημένου «Ἡμεῖς»— αλλά στη συμπεριφορά των ἀρχόντων ἐμφανίζονται σε πρώτο πλάνο κοινωνικά ἐνδιαφέροντα. Ἄλλο είναι τό ἐρώτημα, ἂν κατά την ὑπό ἐξέταση περίοδο παρατηρεῖται ή γένεση παρομοίων διαθέσεων και ἂν αὐτές προέρχονται ἀπό κάποιο χαμηλότερο κοινωνικό ἐπίπεδο. Ὁρισμένα στοιχεῖα μέ θρυλικό χαρακτήρα στην πελοποννησιακή παράδοση ἄγουν σε θετική ἀπάντηση στό ἐρώτημα αὐτό.

Ἐνεργός συνεργασία. Ὁ τύπος αὐτός στάσεως (συμπεριφοράς) ἐναντι των κατακτητῶν ἐμφανίζεται μέ δύο κύριες μορφές, μεταξύ των οποίων τά σύνορα συχνά ἐξαφανίζονται. Οι μορφές αὐτές είναι: α) παροχή πληροφοριῶν που σοβαρά ὑποβοηθοῦν την ἐπιτυχία της κατακτήσεως και β) ἄμεση συμμετοχή στό στρατό των Φράγκων και στις πρωτοβουλίες τους στην ἀποδοχή των νέων ἐδαφῶν. Είναι καθ' ὅλοκληρίαν δυνατό στην ἐπιθυμία της νά παρουσιάσει την κατάκτηση της Πελοποννήσου σχεδόν σάν ξέγνοιαστη ἱπποτική πομπή ή βασική μας πηγή, τό Χρονικό του Μορέως, νά μεγαλοποιεῖ τη συνεργασία του ντόπιου πληθυσμοῦ. Ἡ συνεργασία ὁμως μέρους των ἀρχόντων μέ τους κατακτητές δέν τίθεται σε ἀμφιβολία. Καί ἂν ὑπερισχέει ή ἐντύπωση για τον συγκριτικά ἀναίμακτο χαρακτήρα της κατακτήσεως, και αὐτό όχι σπάνια χάρις στην ντόπια συνεργασία, ἐκτός ἀπό τό χαρακτήρα του πηγαίου ὕλικου τά αἷτια ἀποκαλύπτονται ἀπό την κατάσταση, που ὕφιστατο στην Πελοπόννησο πριν ἀπό τό φθινόπωρο του 1204, και ἀπό την πολιτική των κατακτητῶν.

2.3. *Σύνεση, σοφία, ρεαλισμός;* Κατά την ἀποτίμηση της πολιτικῆς αὐτῆς ἰδιαίτερη προσοχή παρέχεται στά ὄργανά της. Ἀναζητοῦνται τά χαρακτηριστικά ἐκεῖνα της μορφῆς των Φράγκων στρατιωτῶν και κυρίως των πριγκίπων της Ἀχαΐας, μέ τά ὁποῖα αὐτοί παραμένουν στην παράδοση του Μοριά. Ἡ ἐξιδανίκευση, ἀποτέλεσμα της κοινωνικῆς βάσεως πάνω στην ὁποία ξεφυτρώνει τό Χρονικό του Μορέως, ὑπάρχει, ὁμως ἀποδεικνύεται ότι δέν ἔχουν μικρότερη σημασία και οι μέθο-

δοι τῆς φράγκικης κατακτήσεως. Ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς «ἐθελοντικῆς βίας», ἡ ἔμπνευση διὰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἡ προσαρμογὴ τῆς τακτικῆς στὶς γεωγραφικὲς ιδιαιτερότητες τῆς χερσονήσου διαδραματίζουν τὸ ρόλο τους. Ὁ Μοριάς κατελήφθη σύμφωνα μὲ ὅλους τοὺς κανόνες τῆς ἵπποτικῆς συμπεριφορᾶς.

3. *Quasi Nova Francia?*

3.1. *Ἡ ἀποδοχὴ τῆς χώρας.* Στὴν τελευταία παράγραφο τοῦ παρόντος κεφαλαίου ἐξετάζονται οἱ ἐξῆς φάσεις τῆς ἀλληλεπιδράσεως: ἀποδοχὴ, ἐπανερμηνεία καὶ σύνθεση, στοιχεῖα τῶν ὁποίων ἐμφανίζονται ἤδη στὴν πρώτη τῆς φάση, τὴ γνωριμία, ἐξ αἰτίας τοῦ χαρακτήρα τῆς, ἀφοῦ ἐπρόκειτο γιὰ στρατιωτικὴ κατάκτηση. Αὐτὸ ἐμφαίνεται σαφέστατα στὴ χρησιμοποίησιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὀχυρῶν καὶ στό κτίσιμο νέων, καθὼς καὶ στὴν ἐκμετάλλευσιν τῆς χώρας. Μὲ τὴν ἐγκατάστασίν τους στὶς πελοποννησιακὲς πόλεις ἢ μὲ τὸ κτίσιμο νέων ὀχυρῶν οἱ Φράγκοι μετατρέπουν τὴν ἀρχικὴ, συχνὰ σύντομη, ἐπαφὴ μὲ τὸν ντόπιον πληθυσμὸν σὲ συνεχές, συγκριτικὰ εὐρὺ πρᾶγματι σ' αὐτὰ τὰ κατοικημένα μέρη, μέτωπο ἐπικοινωνίας μ' αὐτόν. Τὸ ὑπόλοιπο τμῆμα τῆς χερσονήσου στὴν πράξιν παραμένει ἐκτός αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετώπου. Τὰ νεοανεγειρόμενα ὀχυρά εἶναι δημιουργήματα τῆς φράγκικης κουλτούρας. Στὸ σημεῖο αὐτὸ ἡ ἐπαφὴ φθάνει μόνο ὥς τὴ φάσιν ἀποδοχῆς. Ἐκεῖνο ὅμως πού ἀποδεικνύεται βασικότερο, ἰδιαίτερα γιὰ τὴν ἐπόμενη περίοδο, εἶναι ἡ καθιερωμένη ἀπὸ κοντὰ συμβίωσις.

Στὴν ἀποδοχὴ τῆς γῆς τὸ σύστημα τῶν ὑποτελικῶν - διοικητικῶν σχέσεων περιλαμβάνει ὁλόκληρη τὴ μεγάλη καὶ μέρος ἀπὸ τὴ μεσαία γαιοκτησίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐποχῆς, καθὼς αὐτὴ ἀναδιοργανώθηκε πλήρως σύμφωνα μὲ τὶς δυτικὲς φράγκικες ἀρχές· τὸ ὑπόλοιπο τμῆμα τῆς μεσαίας γαιοκτησίας (τὰ πατρικά κτήματα τῶν ἀρχόντων) δέν καταχωρεῖται καθόλου σ' αὐτή. Στὴν πορεία τῆς κατακτήσεως ἡ δομὴ τῆς βυζαντινῆς κυριαρχούσας τάξεως ὑφίσταται ριζικὸ μετασχηματισμό. Οἱ πλουσιότεροι βυζαντινοὶ γαιοκτήμονες ἢ ἐγκαταλείπουν τὶς κατακτηθεῖσες περιοχές ἢ καταστρέφονται ἢ διασκορπίζονται. Ἡ μεσαία καὶ παλαιὰ ἀριστοκρατία, συνεργαζόμενη μὲ τοὺς κατακτητὲς, βρίσκεται σὲ κατάστασιν ὑποτελείας. Κατ' ἀρ-

χὰς οἱ ντόπιοι ἄρχοντες πού συνεργάστηκαν μὲ τοὺς κατακτητὲς ἐξισώνονται μὲ τοὺς λοχίους μὴ εὐγενοὺς καταγωγῆς καὶ ὀφείλουν νὰ δίνουν μόνο τὸ συνηθισμένο ὄρκο (ὀμάντζο). Στὸ στάδιο αὐτὸ διαθέτουν μόνο τὴ δικὴ τους πατρικὴ περιουσία, ἢ ὅποια σὲ μεγάλο βαθμὸ ρυθμίζεται ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ δικαίου. Μὲ τὴν ἀνάδειξίν τους ἕως καὶ ἱππότες (μόνο οἱ σημαντικότεροι μετὰ αὐτῶν) οἱ ἄρχοντες προωθοῦνται πρὸς τὰ ἐπάνω στὴν ἱεραρχικὴ κλίμακα· στὴ συνάφεια αὐτὴ εἶναι δυνατόν νὰ γίνεταί λόγος γιὰ σύνθεσιν τῶν κοινωνικῶν θεσμῶν Φράγκων καὶ Βυζαντινῶν. Ἡ ἀποκατάστασίν τους (συνένωσις) στὴν κυριαρχοῦσα τάξιν τῶν κατακτητῶν ἀσκεῖ σοβαρὴ ἐπίδρασιν στὴν κατάστασιν τῆς πελοποννησιακῆς κοινωνίας — αὐτὴ εἶναι στερημένη ἀπὸ ἡγέτες — πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖο ἀποδεικνύεται ὅτι ἔχει ἀποφασιστικὴ σημασία καὶ γιὰ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τὴ θέσιν τῶν χωρικῶν τῆς Πελοποννήσου τονίζεται ἡ ὑπαρξὴ δύο τάσεων: α) Ἡ διατήρησις τῶν παλαιῶν βυζαντινῶν φόρων καὶ ἀγγαιριῶν καὶ β) συγχρόνως ἡ αὐξήσιν τους ἰδιαίτερα σὲ συνάρτησιν μὲ τὴν ἀνάπτυξιν τῶν σχέσεων προϊόντων - χρημάτων. Στὸ κοινωνικὸ αὐτὸ ἐπίπεδο (στρῶμα) ἡ ἀλληλεπίδρασις ὁδηγεῖ σὲ πῶς δυσμενὴ γιὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀποτελέσματα.

3.2. *«Τὸ κλῆμα τῶν Κιστερσιανῶν φυτεύθηκε στὴν Ἑλλάδα»* (Caesarius von Heisterbach). Σχεδὸν συγχρόνως μὲ τοὺς σταυροφόρους στὴ χερσόνησον ἐγκαθίσταται καὶ ἡ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Στὸ τμῆμα αὐτὸ παρακολουθεῖται ἡ τύχη τῆς ἀνώτατης ἱεραρχίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Μορέως καὶ τῶν συνηθισμένων ἐπαρχιῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἡ δραστηριότητα τῶν μοναχικῶν ταγμάτων τῶν Κιστερσιανῶν, Φραγκισκανῶν καὶ Δομινικανῶν. Ἡ ἀλληλεπίδρασις παρίσταται καὶ μὲ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῆς στό κτίσιμο ἐκκλησιῶν. Ἡ διαπραγματεύσις ἐπιβεβαιώνει ὠρισμένες παρατηρήσεις πού ἔχουν ἤδη διατυπωθεῖ στὴν ἐπιστήμην. Ἀπουσιάζουν μαρτυρίες, στὴν ὑπὸ ἐξέτασιν περίοδον, γιὰ ἐπεισόδια μετὰ Λατίνων καὶ Ἑλλήνων στό πριγκιπάτο. Ἀντιθέτως, ἂν καὶ συχνότερα παρατηρεῖται μιὰ ἀντιπαράθεσις μετὰ τῶν δυτικῶν καὶ τῶν παραδοσιακῶν βυζαν-

τινῶν μορφῶν ἀπ' ὅ,τι δημιουργία νέας ζωτικῆς καλλιτεχνικῆς σχολῆς, ἡ τέχνη καί τό συνδεδεμένο μ' αὐτή τυπικό ἀποδεικνύονται κλειστό πληροφοριακό σύστημα γιά τίς δύο πλευρές πού λαβαίνουν μέρος στήν ἀλληλεπίδραση. Καί ἂν ἡ φάση τῆς ἀληθινῆς συνθέσεως ἐκ νέου τούς διαφεύγει, οἱ αἰτίες δέν πρέπει νά ἀναζητοῦνται μόνο στό σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα, ἀλλά καί στή διαφύλαξη, σέ ὅλα τά μέρη, τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας, ἡ ὁποία ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτοῦ στίς ἐσωτερικές πιό ἀπρόσιτες περιοχές τῆς χερσονήσου ὑπηρετεῖται ἀπό ἔλληνες κληρικούς.

3.3. «*Les Panejours*». Πληρέστατα ἡ φάση αὐτή τῆς ἀληθοῦς συνθέσεως ἐξετάζεται στήν οἰκονομική σφαῖρα, ὅπου μάλιστα μπορεῖ νά γίνει λόγος γιά πραγματική «συμβίωση». Σέ ἰδιαίτερα εὐνοϊκή κατάσταση βρίσκονται οἱ πελοποννησιακές πόλεις στίς δυτικές ἀκτές τῆς χερσονήσου, μεταξύ τῶν ὁποίων κατά τήν περίοδο αὐτή ὑπάρχουν καί νέοι σχηματισμοί. Μέ ἐξαίρεση τό μεγάλο ἐμπόριο, μονοπώλιο τῆς ἀφρόκρεμας τῶν Λατίνων, καί τή διοίκηση, οἱ Μοραῖτες ἐπωφελοῦνται καί ἀπό τή συρροή τῶν ἀποίκων καί τῶν κεφαλαίων καί ἀπό τή διέλευση τῶν ἐμπορικῶν σκαφῶν. Ἐν ὄψει ὅμως τῶν γνωστῶν σέ μᾶς πληροφοριῶν, δέν μπορεῖ κανεῖς νά ἰσχυρισθεῖ ὅτι στήν Πελοπόννησο ὑπάρχει πρωτοφανῆς οἰκονομική ἀνθιση, ἐνῶ πρέπει νά ληφθεῖ ὑπ' ὄψη καί ἡ ἀναπόφευκτη σέ κάθε ξένη κατάκτηση τάση πρὸς ἐπιδείνωση τῆς οἰκονομικῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ συνηθισμένου πληθυσμοῦ τῶν πόλεων. Ὡς ὅλον ὅμως οἱ πληροφορίες γιά τή νομισματική κυκλοφορία στόν Φράγκικο Μορέα, κατά τήν ὑπό ἐξέταση περίοδο, δείχνουν ὅτι ἡ χερσονήσος ἔχει παρασυρθεῖ στή δίνη τοῦ μεσογειακοῦ ἐμπορίου καί αὐτό εἶχε, ἀναμφίβολα, τή σημασία του γιά τήν «οἰκονομική συμβίωση» Φράγκων καί Μοραϊτῶν.

3.4. «*Ἡ γαλλικὴ γλῶσσα τοῦ Παρισιοῦ*» (Ramon Muntaner). Στό τελευταῖο τμήμα τῆς παραγράφου αὐτῆς ἐξετάζονται οἱ πληροφορίες γιά τὰ ἀμεσότερα ἐπίπεδα ἐπικοινωνίας πού συνδέονται μέ τή γλῶσσα ὡς πληροφοριακό σύστημα. Ἔχουν χρησιμοποιηθεῖ γλωσσικές μαρτυρίες τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ Μορέως καθὼς καί τοπωνυμιακό ὕλικό. Τὰ συμπεράσματά μας δείχνουν ὅτι στά μέσα τοῦ ΙΓ' αἰῶνα, παρά τήν ἀλλαγὴ δύο γενε-

ῶν, οἱ γλωσσικές ἐπαφές μεταξύ τῶν Φράγκων καί τοῦ ντόπιου πληθυσμοῦ παραμένουν περιορισμένες. Στό λίγο χρόνο τῶν κάμποσων αὐτῶν δεκαετιῶν στήν ἑλληνικὴ γλῶσσα τῆς χερσονήσου σταθερότατα εἰσῆλθαν κάποια τοπωνύμια πού συνδέονται μέ τή στρατιωτικὴ παρουσία τῶν Φράγκων, ἐνῶ σπάνια ὑπάρχει ἀκριβῆς μεταγραφή ἢ ἐτυμολογία, ἀλλά ἀκόμη λιγότερο δέν ὑπάρχει σταθεροποίηση τῶν φράγκικων τοπωνυμίων σέ βάρος τῶν ἑλληνικῶν τοπωνυμίων πού παραχώρησαν τὴ θέση τους. Ἐπιρρεπέστεροι στήν ἀλλαγὴ ἀποδεικνύονται οἱ κατακτητές.

Στὴν κατάσταση αὐτὴ τῆς γλωσσικῆς ἀλληλεπιδράσεως, παρά τὴν ἀναμενόμενη ἐνίσχυση τῆς λαογραφικῆς παραδόσεως, ἡ ἔρευνα δέν ἀνακάλυψε στά ἑλληνικά δημοτικὰ τραγούδια ἴχνη πού νά ὁδηγοῦν σέ ἱστορικά γεγονότα τῆς ὑπὸ ἐξέταση περιόδου. Ὁρισμένοι θρύλοι ὅμως (γιά τόν Δοξαπατρή Βουτσαρᾶ, τό θάνατο τοῦ Σγουροῦ, τό φρούριο τῆς Ἀρκαδίας καί τὴν κατάληψη τῆς Μονεμβασίας) ὑπαγορεύουν τὴν ἄποψη ὅτι ἀκόμη καί κατά τό πρῶτο ἡμισυ τοῦ ΙΓ' αἰῶνα ἄρχισε σέ ἑλληνικὸ περιβάλλον ἡ διαμόρφωση τοῦ φολκλορικοῦ κύκλου πού παρουσιάζει τὴν κατάκτηση.

Ἐπίλογος

Τό 1205 γιά πρώτη φορά στήν ἱστορία τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀρχίζει μία ἐξέλιξη, ἡ ὁποία παρ' ὅλες τίς δυσκολίες μετὰ ἀπὸ πέντε δεκαετίες τελειώνει μέ τὴν πλήρη ὑποταγὴ τῆς χερσονήσου στήν ἐξουσία τῶν Φράγκων. Ἰππότες ἀπὸ τὴν Καμπανία καί τὴ Βουργουνδία, καθολικά μοναχικά καί στρατιωτικά τάγματα ἐγκαθίστανται στήν περιοχή τῆς. Αὐτοὶ φέρουν στή νέα τους ἐγκατάσταση τό πνεῦμα τῆς νέας Εὐρώπης πού γεννᾶται στό μεταίχμιο τῶν ΙΒ' καί ΙΓ' αἰώνων, δηλαδή τό πνεῦμα τῆς κουλτούρας τῶν πόλεων. Στίς νεοκατακτηθεῖσες χώρες αὐτό βοηθᾷ στήν ἐπιτυχία τους καί ἡ πρώτη γενιά τῶν κατακτητῶν ἐγκαθιδρύει παραδόσεις, οἱ ὁποῖες, χωρὶς νά εἶναι ἐπαρχιακὴ παραλλαγή τῶν ἀντίστοιχων φράγκικων, στέκονται στό θεμέλιο ἑνὸς κοινωνικο-πολιτιστικοῦ φαινομένου,

πού υπενθυμίζει τη Γαλλία των δύο πρώτων δεκαετιών της βασιλείας του Φιλίππου Β' του Αύγουστου.

Ἡ ἀνωτέρω διαπραγμάτευση μᾶς παρέχει τή βάση νά ἰσχυρισθούμε ὅτι μία ἀπό τίς αἰτίες τῆς ζωτικότητας τοῦ νέου κρατικοῦ μορφώματος εἶναι ὁ χαρακτήρας τῆς κοινωνικο-πολιτιστικῆς ἀλληλεπιδράσεως μεταξύ τῶν Φράγκων καί τοῦ ντόπιου πληθυσμοῦ. Πρωταρχικῆς σημασίας εἶναι τό συμπέρασμα ὅτι οἱ κατακτητές ἐπιτυχάνουν νά προσανατολισθοῦν πολύ καλά στό νέο γεωγραφικό περιβάλλον. Διαρκέστερη καί μέ πῖο πολλές συνέπειες εἶναι ἡ ἐγκατάστασή τους στήν περιφέρεια τῆς χερσονήσου καί μάλιστα κατ' ἐξοχήν στά κέντρα τῶν πόλεων. Τό συμπαγές τῆς φράγκικης στρατιωτικῆς ἀποικίας στίς πόλεις ὀρίζεται τόσο ἀπό τό ὀλιγάριθμό της, ὅσο καί ἀπό τά χαρακτηριστικά τῶν πελοποννησιακῶν πόλεων τῆς προηγούμενης ἐποχῆς. Ἡ ξένη ὁμως κυριαρχία δέν ὀδηγεῖ σέ ὀριστική διαμόρφωση τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως μεταξύ πόλεως καί χωριοῦ τῆς χερσονήσου (τουλάχιστον γιά τήν ὑπό ἐξέταση περίοδο), ἐπειδὴ ἀπό τή μία μεριά ἐνισχύει τήν οἰκονομική δραστηριότητα τῶν πόλεων, ἐνῶ ἀπό τήν ἄλλη μέ τήν ἀπόσπαση τῶν γεωργικῶν προϊόντων σταθεροποιεῖ τίς σχέσεις τους μέ τά ἀγροτικά περίχωρα.

Ἰδιαίτερα σημαντική ἀποδεικνύεται ἡ σύνθεση στούς κοινωνικούς θεσμούς. Ἡ συνένωση τῶν τοπικῶν ἀρχόντων στή δομή τῆς φράγκικης κοινωνικῆς ἀφρόκρεμας εἶναι φαινόμενο ἄνευ προηγουμένου στήν ἱστορία ὅλων τῶν φράγκικων ἀποικιῶν μετά ἀπό τό 1204 (σέ μικρή κλίμακα αὐτό παρατηρεῖται μόνο στή νῆσο Κρήτη). Καί στό σημεῖο αὐτό μία ἀπό τίς κύριες αἰτίες βρίσκεται στά χαρακτηριστικά τῆς τοπικῆς κυριαρχούσας τάξεως, στήν ὁποία τό αὐτοκρατορικό ἰδεῶδες δέν ἔχει ἐρείσματα. Στήν πραγματικότητα γιά πρώτη φορά ἐγκαθίσταται στή χερσόνησο ἀληθινή στρατιωτικο-γαιοκτημονική ἀριστοκρατία στό πρόσωπο τῶν Φράγκων. Ἐντυπωσιακή εἶναι ἡ ρήξη (ἄν καί ἔως τώρα δέν ἔχει λάβει τήν ἀρμόζουσα θέση στήν ἐπιστήμη) μεταξύ τῆς πολιτικῆς καί θρησκευτικῆς συνειδήσεως τῶν πελοποννησιακῶν ἀρχόντων. Μετά τό 1204 ἡ θρησκεία στήν ὀρθόδοξη παραλλαγή της γίνεται τό μοναδικό δια-

χωριστικό κριτήριο στήν ἄμεση συμμετοχή στό ξένο πολιτικό σύστημα. Αὐτό εἶναι μεταβολή μέ σοβαρές συνέπειες γιά τή μελλοντική ἀνάπτυξη τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ στόν Μοριά.

Σέ κάθετο πλάνο ἡ κοινωνικο-πολιτιστική ἀλληλεπίδραση στίς φάσεις τῆς γνωριμίας, τῆς ἀποδοχῆς, τῆς ἐπανερμηνείας καί τῆς συνθέσεως δέν ὀδηγεῖ στήν πλήρη ἀνάπτυξή τους ἐξ αἰτίας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ χαρακτήρα τῆς ἐπαφῆς. Θά μπορούσαμε ὁμως νά προσθέσουμε ὅτι τοῦτο συνέβη καί ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς διαφορετικῆς τομῆς τῶν δύο πλευρῶν πού ἔρχονται σέ ἐπαφή, ἀπό τή μία μεριά ἡ ἐλιτίστικη ἵπποτική κουλτούρα, ἐκπροσωπούμενη ἀπό τμήμα τῆς δυτικοευρωπαϊκῆς κοινωνίας, καί ἀπό τήν ἄλλη μία ντόπια κοινωνική δομή μέ ἰσχυρές παραδόσεις, ἰδιαίτερα στό περιβάλλον τοῦ χωριοῦ. Ἡ ξένη κατάκτηση δημιουργεῖ σ' αὐτό τάσεις γιά αὐτοσυνταυτισμό καί αὐτογνωσία, τά ὁποῖα στέφονται μέ τήν πολιτιστική ἄνθιση τοῦ Μυστρά κατὰ τό α' ἡμισυ τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰώνα. Σ' αὐτόν τόν ἱερό λόφο, ὅπως ἰσχυρίζεται ὁ Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, ἀρχίζει ἡ νέα ἐλληνική ἱστορία («γεννήθηκε ἡ νέα Ἑλλάδα») (Ἀναφορά στόν Γκρέκο).

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